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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2243

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Equilibrium Between U. S./NATO, USSR/Warsaw Pact Discussed
(Vadim Kortunov; NOVA MYSL, No 10, 2 Sep 83) 1
- Academy Fosters Idea of Nuclear-Free Zone in Balkans
(Slavi Zh. Pashovski; MEZHDUNARODNI OTNOSHENIYA, No 4,
1983) 11

BULGARIA

- Report on News Media Operations, Technology
(Various sources, 1 Nov 83) 16
- Printing Facilities of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, by
Emil Dimitrov
BTA Telex Center, by Danka Vasileva
New Communications Equipment, by Kiril Aksharov

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Structure of CPCZ Prague Organizations Analyzed
(Vladimir Hynek; ZIVOT STRANY, No 20, 1983) 20
- Youth's Preference for Western Lifestyle Faulted
(Josef Zyrotek; TRIBUNA, No 41, 12 Oct 83) 25
- Briefs
U. S. Space Plans Condemned 27
Support for Missile Accord 27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- The Greens' Visit: Course and Epilogue
(Various sources, 7 Nov 83) 28
- Reception, Intentions, Illusions
Return to Normalcy, by Peter Jochen Winters

HUNGARY

Seven World Masterworks Stolen From Budapest Museum (Various sources, various dates)	35
ESTI HIRLAP on Paintings' History, by Marta Harangozo National, International Help Solicited	

POLAND

Militia, Interior Ministry Officials Discuss Policy, Accomplishments (Various sources, 3, 6, 11, 12 Oct 83)	39
PZPR Official on Discipline, Zbigniew Pochec Interview Militia, SB Chief on Duties, Bronislaw Moczowski Interview SB Official on New Law, Stanislaw Pietruszka Interview SB Official on Security, by Jozef Dolak	
Post-13th Plenum Discussions Described (Anna Pawlowska; TRYBUNA LUDU, No 257, 29-30 Oct 83)	53
Commentator Discusses Cultural Policy Goals (Jerzy Ladyka; NOWE DROGI, No 9, Sep 83)	59
Provincial Workers' Self-Government Actions Noted (Various sources, 28 Sep, 11 Oct 83)	65
New Law Affects Rural Self-Government, by W. Chelchowski Renewal of Self-Government New System of Workers' Self-Government, by Wojciech Zurawski	
Provincial Party Activities Reported (Various sources, 7, 8-9 Oct 83)	71
Development of Party Indoctrination Kielce Plenum on Basic Party Organizations Party Development in Lublin Province Chelm Province Plenum on Young Generation	
Tactics of Air, Ground Operations Described (Various sources, Nos 5, 6, May, Jun 83)	92
Conduct of Air Defense Operation, by Witold Pokruszynski Combat Commitment of Detached Unit, by Ryszard Konopka Coordinated Action of Ground, Air Echelons, by Ryszard Konopka	
Government Responsibility for Administrative Decisions Questioned (Janusz Letowski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, No 252, 24 Oct 83)	111

Gdansk Shipyard Responds in Wake of Rakowski Visit
(Various sources, Nos 38, 41, 21 Sep, 9 Oct 83) 114

Author Predicts Future Battles, by Kazimierz Kozniewski
Life in Shipyard Described, by Remigiusz Zarzycki

YUGOSLAVIA

Milovan Djilas Discusses Current Situation in Yugoslavia
(Milovan Djilas Interview; DIE WELTWOCH, 17 Nov 83) 121

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN U.S./NATO, USSR/WARSAW PACT DISCUSSED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 10 signed to press 2 Sep 83 pp 100-109

/Article by Vadim Kortunov, APN political commentator, Moscow: "Politics and War in the Current Epoch," written for NOVA MYSL/

/Text/ Today's international life offers an ample number of reasons for maintaining that mankind currently lives in a more pointed and responsible epoch of its history than probably ever encountered by people before. A hard struggle between the forces of peace and aggression is deciding the most poignant issue of contemporary civilization, the issue of whether the present generation will manage to halt the course leading to a nuclear war, prevent the ominous feverish arms race and maintain relaxation of tensions, or whether the world will be flung into a catastrophe endangering the very existence of all life on our planet.

From the mouth of President Ronald Reagan and his accomplices we hear on an almost daily basis militant addresses which, even though sometimes containing various would-be peace-loving supplements, are always accomplished by traditional exhortations toward further increasing the potential for mass murder. If we make an attempt to select the main theses from among the multitude of defamations and disinformation of American propaganda, we would have to state primarily the following:

First of all, that nuclear war is possible, because nuclear weapons, allegedly, are no better or worse than any other weapons. Such weaponry allegedly changes nothing in the overall approach to the problems of war, peace and international security.

Second of all, that nuclear war is not only possible but also not particularly frightful, because--as maintained by Washington--"the human race is extremely viable." A nuclear conflict taking place within the so-called "limited" war can allegedly be actually reduced to an utterly harmless mini-management between the nuclear powers which, nevertheless, according to the calculations of American strategists, will still end in victory for the United States.

Third of all, that nuclear war is not only possible but, moreover, also inevitable, because "totalitarian communism"--"the source of all evil"

in today's world with its permanent "Soviet threat of war"--allegedly leaves the United States with no other choice than to take over the role of a sort of messiah, to rouse mankind to wage a "holy war" and lead it on a "crusade" against "pagan communism."

And all this only to first blunt the vigilance of nations by means of primitive and irresponsible demagoguery so that the ruling circles of the United States could then destroy military strategic parity achieve military superiority over socialism, constantly keeping the world at bay with the threat of nuclear war and making practical preparations for such a war in the hope that they will be victorious.

Member countries of the Warsaw Pact are proposing a different alternative. Their point of departure is, as is stated in the political declaration of the Warsaw Pact's member countries of January 1983 in Prague, that "any calculations relating to victory in a nuclear war once it had been precipitated are senseless. In a nuclear war, if precipitated, there can be no victors. Such a war would inevitably lead to annihilation of entire nations, to tremendous devastation and catastrophic consequences for civilization and the very life on Earth." This thesis is of great basic importance. Namely, it formulates in a new way the problem of mutual parity of military and nonmilitary factors in world politics.

For centuries and millenia war has always been a continuation of policy by other means, "a policy which exchanged the pen for the sword." This opinion was voiced by the German military theoretician Karl Clausewitz already in the first half of the last century, and it was shared by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. For the first time in the history of social sciences Lenin subjected the phenomenon of war and crisis in the epoch of imperialism to a scientific, class-oriented analysis. Even though V. I. Lenin agreed with Clausewitz, he supplemented his concept with the thesis that war is a continuation of policy "by certain interested powers--and various classes within them--at a certain time."

In societies bent on exploitation, war has been since times immemorial the tool of the policy of the ruling classes. Violence in all its manifestations, among others also in the form of armed aggression, has constantly remained the main and often the only tool of expansionist efforts of the elite that holds power. By fire and sword were forged the despotic regimes of the ancient East, absolutist monarchies, bourgeois republics and colonial empires. The political map of the world was carved and recarved to the sound of artillery barrages. Military superiority could be translated into political superiority with relative ease.

In the current epoch and, particularly, in the nuclear century, it appears that this once unambiguous formula has acquired a more complex connotation. While war remains as a continuation of the foreign policy of imperialist powers, and even more so at the global level, it ceases to be a reasonable means toward the realization of political objectives. This conclusion is borne out by the far-reaching changes which are now

taking place on the world's stage. These changes conditioned by social, political, military and many other factors represent in their sum a basic change in the parity of military and nonmilitary factors of international life, the basis of which is ultimately formed by the class principles pointed out by V. I. Lenin.

The 20th century cannot be compared in this regard with any other era of world history. In its stormy years there clearly came to the fore the crisis of the violent methods of imperialism's foreign policy, and this ultimately led to the disintegration of the entire system of bourgeois international relations that originated in the preceding centuries. With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution there began the gradual formation of a different world order corresponding to the new ratio of forces on the international scene. The current scientific and technical revolutions made substantial corrections in this process.

The crisis of the military power factor in the foreign policy of bourgeois society gradually kept ripening together with this policy's asserting ever new disproportionate expansionist claims, coming thereby into constantly increasing clashes with its realistic possibilities.

This came to the fore with particular clarity when imperialist predators fomented a battle for conquest of the world. At that stage the polarization of international antagonisms attained its highest point. Wars became world wars. The policy of violence thus attained its historical limit. However, the characteristic feature is the fact that after reaching worldwide involvement war is serving even less as a means for the solution of international problems. Military might as an instrument of foreign policy is clearly undergoing a devaluation.

The criminal slaughter of nations organized by imperialists in World War I proved to be very doubtful, if not nonsensical, from the viewpoint of its political results. It utterly failed to eliminate the dissensions that led to war and did not achieve long-term attainment of the objectives pursued by the warring countries. The hegemonistic ambitions of German imperialism foundered completely. However, even its rivals, the Entente powers, did not manage to solidify the results of their victory. The Versailles system of postwar arrangement very soon revealed its untenable nature. After a little over 20 years, the same antagonists again found themselves in roughly identical positions of military confrontation, and mutual battle flared up once again. The Axis powers did not manage to carry out their plans for conquest in any way even in World War II.

From time immemorial the cause of the utter failure of imperialist countries in these cases was the adventurist nature of their political objectives. After all, war is the handmaiden of politics, its tool. And politics always has been and will remain the art of estimating possibilities. However, if it loses its capability of realistically assessing its possibilities, it is inevitably slated for defeat. From this, in our

opinion, follows the conclusion that the crisis of the policy of power --and, thus, also the entire system of international relations of imperialism based on violence--is not at all subject to some external causes, as Western ideologists would have us believe, but to the basic processes of internal development of imperialism itself.

From his analysis of the events of 1914-1915, V. I. Lenin came to the conclusion that militarism threatens to destroy "the very prerequisites for the existence of human society." Thus, it was already World War I that included in the agenda of international life the problem of the inevitable revision of the bourgeois world's policy of force and a search for some other, more viable alternatives.

A historic answer to this call of the times was provided by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This policy, given birth by the community of workers, proposed to oppose the concept of "might is right"--the well-known policy of classes bent on exploitation--by an entirely new concept of international relations. Briefly put, its objective is to anchor in these relations a system of truly democratic principles, acceptable to and binding for all nations, large and small, advanced and underdeveloped, be they socialist or capitalist. This policy is based on the equal rights of all nations, nonintervention in their internal affairs, and renounces any form of oppression of one nation by another. The role of military force is limited under this concept exclusively to the tasks of defense.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which combined in specific foreign policy actions of the first socialist country in the world the tasks of strengthening security, promoting democracy and the triumph of social progress, was, in Lenin's words, "the first victory in the struggle for elimination of wars."

The policy of force has forever lost its monopoly on the globe and suffered at the same time damage in the moral and political aspects. The Soviet republic proposed not only entirely new principles for international relations which were in keeping with the true interests of nations, but also unveiled to their eyes the "conspiracy of silence" resorted to by classes in power in their diplomatic activities, and by so doing placed foreign policy before the court of nations. It made public the secret treaties of the czarist government, smashed "secret diplomacy" and energetically endeavored to have the working masses by themselves and with a sense of purpose have a say in questions of war and peace.

Nevertheless, without any doubt, of key significance and highest importance in this regard are basic changes in the actual concept of international life as a whole. At that time the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie entered the international stage. The processes of the social change-over of the world and of international relations that were formerly developing to a considerable extent autonomously became directly interrelated.

In international relations there occurred a basically new antagonism--between the first socialist country in history and capitalist countries. In the bourgeois system of international relations in the 20th century socialism became a "foreign body." The ageless expansionist efforts of the exploiting classes were now joined by a new ideological and political element of an equally permanent nature--antisoviet orientation.

After splitting of the world into two socioeconomic systems, the Soviet republic offered peaceful coexistence to capitalist countries and actively fought for its attainment. Western countries responded by intervention, economic blockade, diplomatic boycott and varied antisoviet provocations. Thus, in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, the bourgeois West placed its bet on the liquidation of socialism by armed means. This in essence was nothing other than an attempt to ignore the new historic reality and to assert the traditional policy of force in new historical conditions.

In view of the relative parity of the military potential of capitalism and of socialism that came to the fore in those years, at first sight the conclusion at hand was that such a policy could be maximally effective against the young Soviet republic. Imperialism, armed to the teeth, was faced with a poverty-stricken country devastated by war, with its economy in disarray and a still unsettled socioeconomic structure, a country which did not even have an army. The military superiority of the imperialist powers was indisputable. It appeared very simple to "strangle the newborn in its crib."

In reality, however, everything proved to be much more difficult. The policy of force applied against the Soviet state kept on failing. In the end it terminated in complete failure. The main reason for this was the onset of the effects of new inevitable developments never encountered by history on the world stage. The formation of the Soviet socialist society, the growth of its international power and authority among workers the world over, and the polarization of new imperialist antitheses--all of these initially established an equilibrium and eventually completely nullified the military superiority of the West.

An imperialism could not reconcile itself with his historical defeats, it did not give up its attempts to resort to a counterattack against socialist society. Proof of this was the development of international relations from Versailles to Munich and to World War II*.

* At the same time it is important to emphasize that under the banner of the notoriously proscribed "peril from the East" the imperialist reactionary elements tried to promote not some other, but their same old usual, traditional policy of aggression and expansion, meaning suppression of revolutionary movements, intervention in internal affairs of other countries and betraying the interests of small countries.

Quite another aspect is the fact that Hitler and the "peace proponents" of Munich intended to settle their disputes at the expense of the Soviet Union and for that reason they fomented antisoviet panic. Fascism was weaned by antisovietism. Under the banner of "threat from the East" came the formation of Hitler's war machinery, organized intervention in republican Spain, the "annexation" of Austria, the division and occupation of Czechoslovakia and the invasion of Poland. This ultimately resulted in the precipitation of World War II.

If simple common sense prevailed in international relations, then the truly tragic lesson of World War II would quite obviously have to open the eyes of all statesmen to the fact that under the current level of development of science and technology the policy of force is facing a stoplight. However, history knows no simple solutions. Before the dying away of the salvos of World War II--the flames of which incinerated the ambitions of German fascist candidates for world rule--mankind is already faced by a new variant of the identical policy now being promulgated by Washington in the more malevolent form of nuclear blackmail.

The ruling circles of the United States of America did not refrain from seizing in the name of their hegemonistic efforts and pressing into the service of militarism the results of the scientific and technological revolution. Over the past decade the world has been drawn into a feverish arms race that truly has no precedent. According to the data of the International Council of Scientific Associations, which is the largest nongovernmental scientific organization representing scientists from more than 70 countries of the world, the total amount of explosive substances, in recomputation to nitrotoluolene, never exceeded 10 megatons in the entire history of war. However, in the early 1980's, the world's accumulation of nuclear weapons alone amounts to a total effectiveness of more than 50,000 megatons! Ten and fifty thousand. In but a few decades mankind increased the stockpiles of destructive weapons--which moreover have a tremendous radioactive effect--not tenfold, not a thousandfold, but 5,000 times! Nevertheless, even that seems inadequate to the strategists from Washington. They keep unwinding the spiral of feverish arms race, one coil after another.

In this context it ought to be added that the possibilities for delivery of these deadly weapons increased to approximately the same extent. Intercontinental and tactical missiles or rockets with a flat trajectory can inflict a nuclear strike from any point on land, sea or air to practically any point on the globe. However, the whims of militarism know no limits. By the early 1980's the United States started to develop qualitatively new weapons systems: intercontinental ballistic MX missiles, ballistic missiles on Trident 1 and 2 submarines, B-1 and Stealth bombers and strategic missiles with a flat flight trajectory.

All these, however, are merely nuclear weapons and the means for their delivery. In the meantime (if we set aside some of the more remote plans of the Pentagon to develop new means of destruction) the United

States started already at the outset of this decade upon the practical development of yet other types of weapons of mass murder, specifically neutron and chemical charges. "Supplementary arming" in the area of nuclear systems, production of neutron weapons, production of chemical (primarily binary) toxic substances represent the third coil in the malevolent spiral of oversaturation of the planet, particularly Western Europe, with weapons of mass destruction. However, another, the fourth direction, is already under discussion in NATO circles: modernization of "obsolescent nuclear systems of tactical deployment." Now these plans, as is well known, are finding materialization in the so-called Rogers Doctrine submitted for consideration to Washington by the American General Rogers, commander of the armed forces of NATO in Europe.

Intercontinental missiles and missiles with a flat flight trajectory, nuclear submarines and long-range bombers, nuclear bombs, neutron charges, chemical warfare weapons, development of biological, meteororeological and other means of destruction have basically changed the nature of war. General V. Werner, the former Belgian defense minister and, later, head of the Sociological Center for the Study of War in Brussels, wrote in this context in his book "The Great Fear: A Third World War": "This is an entirely new phenomenon unknown by mankind in the past. The extent and speed of possible destruction alter not only the scope of war, but its very substance. A man 2.5 meters tall weighing 200 kg still remains a man, even if his height and weight exceed the norm. However, could we regard him as a human being if his height reached 200 m and his weight several tons? Yet, World War III could lead to something like that. References to past war do not have any relevance any more. War is a phenomenon that is now undergoing development, a phenomenon the substance of which has changed."

What monstrous dimensions is the arbitrary malevolence of militarism capable of achieving? For the time being there is no answer to that question. But there can be no doubt about one thing. However, events may develop and no matter what deadly weapons the military-industrial complex will force on mankind in the future, we are fully justified in stating right now that in the history of war there has occurred a qualitatively new situation the likes of which was never encountered by generations living in the past. If what counted formerly was the extent of destruction and the number of victims, we are now faced with the survival of man as a biological species. And that constitutes today the essence of the problem.

Of course, it is possible to perform the most varied calculations with regard to how many millions of people will die and how many will survive in case of a hypothetical nuclear war, let us say between the USSR and the United States, and try to confirm one's always doubtful conclusions by all kinds of reasoning, as is often the custom in the West. However, all this is an attempt to close our eyes to new realities, adapting old yardsticks to new categories. In reality the formulation of the problem is now completely different: can mankind survive a nuclear war at all, and if so, will it be able to exist on an Earth polluted by radioactivity?

Scientists and specialists either refuse to provide an answer to this question, referring to the fact that the current state of knowledge makes it impossible to foresee all the consequences of a nuclear war on the environment, on the biosphere, on man himself and his descendants, or they answer it in the negative. Most of them agree on one thing: whatever stays alive or, rather, survives a nuclear war will not be able to be referred to as civilization of humankind in our concept of those terms. It will be a degradation to some entirely different substance, of which today's generation of people cannot foresee the like. We can see the abyss, but it is beyond our resources to penetrate to the core of the mystery.

Face to face with the problem of the biological preservation of humankind, only maniacs who have completely lost their common sense could be capable of daring to enter into a nuclear conflict. And even though common sense has never been an adequately reliable guarantee against warlike adventures (imperialism is capable of engulfing without any forethought millions and millions of lives into the conflagration of war, as evidenced by history), the threat of mass suicide must necessarily enter into the consideration of all politicians who want to pay at least minimal tribute to the actual reality.

However, we are of the opinion that even greater importance should be ascribed to the contention that the nature of a nuclear confrontation completely changes the thematic contents of such terms as victory and defeat, which were always the essence of every war. After all, no conqueror would risk aggression if he would not count on receiving some spoils of war, be it foreign territory, sources of raw materials, spheres of capital investment or some other privileges that he would like to gain at the expense of the vanquished. Nuclear war, for all practical purposes, excludes such motivation, because it would leave in its wake neither victors nor vanquished and its most probable result would be a scorched wilderness unfit for life. The paradox of our times consists in the fact that while contemporary scientific and technological progress has provided the aggressor with unusually effective means for waging war, it at the same time has dissipated any hopes of victory and made war irrational and, as such, unsuitable for pursuing political objectives. As regards talk of the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war waged in the West, then the words of Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Y. V. Andropov apply: "We would have to be blind to current reality not to see that no matter how and where a nuclear holocaust flares up, it will necessarily become beyond control and cause general devastation.

Our position on this question is clear--nuclear war, be it small or large, limited or total, is inadmissible."

The current level of the development of production forces of science and technology gave birth to one more historical phenomenon: feverish arming at the present time, no matter what extent it could attain, cannot provide

any party with military superiority. The military strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, became not only a reality, but a necessity.

This anchors an essentially new thesis in the development of international life. Imperialism has been enjoying for many years a military superiority over socialism, which always gave rise to illusions of the effectiveness of the policy of force and which imperialism was using directly or indirectly to foster its antisoviet objectives and, in a wider sense, to implement an expansionist policy in general. For that reason violent methods always enjoyed priority, as a rule, in dealing with international problems and culminated in the end in the inevitability of world wars. However, now the aggressor is faced with a new situation which leaves him without any hope that, in case of embarking on a war-like adventure against the USSR and its allies, he could escape his just desserts, i.e., a retaliatory and destructive strike against his own territory.

This new historical reality directly undermines the basis of the policy of force. And since imperialism does not recognize any other policy, its efforts at restoring the former state of affairs at any price is entirely understandable. The militaristic efforts of Washington, including increases in the number of strategic weapons, deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, production of neutron and chemical warfare weapons and, finally, Reagan's far-reaching plan for developing a new generation of "antimissile weapons," of which he served notice on 23 March 1983, clearly betray the objective of shattering at any cost the approximate military strategic balance between socialism and capitalism and returning to the policy of superior strength. However, is this a realistic objective?

Warsaw Pact member countries respond to this question with absolute clarity: it is not realistic. Counting on upsetting the factual equilibrium is doomed to failure, because it is nothing but self-deceit, adventurism and an attempt to ignore irreversible changes in the world. The question of the potential attainment of strategic superiority was essentially removed from the agenda by the development of scientific and technological progress alone. From the moment when two opposing military political groupings accumulate masses of weapons that are sufficient to assure mutual liquidation, all talk of achieving superiority loses any sense whatsoever. In one direction or another, in one type of weapons or another, one of the parties can naturally gain a temporary advantage. However, that does not provide it with decisive superiority, because it does not protect it against a retaliatory strike in the case of a nuclear attack.

The strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, NATO and the Warsaw Pact organization is not merely an approximate equivalence of their weapons systems achieved at a given specific time. On a wider scale it represents the overall balance of forces worldwide. This reality

is not subject to arbitrary change by one of the two parties, a fact borne out by practical experience from the past decades in which the United States has been constantly increasing the manpower of its armed forces without succeeding in changing the overall strategic balance of forces.

Of extraordinary importance is another aspect of this problem conditioned by the role of scientific and technological progress in the overall process of forming a new system of international relations based on cooperation of all nations and countries. After the Soviet Union had done away with the monopoly of imperialism in nuclear arms, the question of in whose favor scientific and technological development will work--peace or war--reached an entirely different niveau. Life itself has shown that in the rivalry of two systems scientific and technological progress is constantly gathering momentum as the factor of peace.

The current stage of world civilization's development faces contemporary generations with problems that cannot be solved by war. Among them are utilization of raw material and energy sources on a worldwide scale, acquisition of new resources, preservation of the environment, mastering space and the world's oceans, etc. Neither present, nor--to an even greater extent--future generations will be spared having to deal with these problems and not a single one of them can be solved from a position of force or saber rattling. These problems can be solved only by the joint effort of all humankind, under conditions of peace and all-round international cooperation.

The world now approaches a historic milestone at which the former international system based on enslaving one set of countries by another must be thoroughly reassessed and replaced by a new truly democratic system of international relations.

The policy of violence and dictate which for centuries has been a part of the international scene must be discarded in the nuclear century as something that has served its purpose and has ceased to correspond to the current balance of forces in the world, and even to the substance of the tasks facing today's generation of people, to the conditions for the physical survival of humanity. To rid the current and future generations of the horrors of nuclear self-destruction, they must without fail develop international relations according to other precepts, which would reliably guarantee the safety and cooperation of all nations and countries.

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ACADEMY FOSTERS IDEA OF NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN BALKANS

Sofia MEZHDUNARODNI OTNOSHENIYA in Bulgarian No 4, 1983 pp 92-95

[Article by Slavi Zh. Pashovski: "Authoritative Forum for Peace"]

[Text] Aware of scientists' high responsibility for the preservation of peace, for the mobilization of public opinion in the campaign against the impending threat of thermonuclear war and for the discovery of objective forces and resources for the realization of beneficial cooperation, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences organized a roundtable on the subject of "The Balkans--a Nuclear-Free Zone." The timeliness and significance of the subject attracted outstanding scientists of the Balkan countries to participate. Guests were as follows: from the Socialist Republic of Romania, Senior Science Associate Dr Mircea Pascu, Institute of Political Sciences in Bucharest, and Prof Marin Ivascu, general director of the Central Physics Institute; from the Republic of Greece, Academician Periklis Theoharis, foreign member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and former chairman of the Athenian Academy of Sciences; Prof Theodoros Skoulidis, deputy rector of the Athenian Polytechnic Institute, and Prof Vasilios Filyas, former rector of the Athenian Institute for Social Sciences.

The meeting was held on 28-29 March 1983 in the capital city's park-and-hotel "Moscow." The first day the session was opened and presided over by Academician Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. In a brief but pithy address he pointed out the unity of the culture and interests of the Balkan peoples and emphasized the necessity of their setting an example of understanding in the present complex international situation. Academician Panteley Zarev in his paper brought out the traditional ties between the Balkan peoples and advanced the idea that the common destiny of the past made it imperative today that we seek the path of cooperation and prevent the deployment and use of nuclear weapons in the Balkans. Senior Science Associate Mircea Pascu presented a paper on the subject of "The Balkans--Zone of Peaceful Cooperation among Peoples." In his opinion, the creation of a nuclear-free zone cannot by itself ensure peace in the Balkan region; rather, a peace zone must be established, which is a wider concept. Moreover, there is a favorable possibility of establishing some elements of the peace zone before the establishment of a nuclear-free zone. Academician Periklis Theoharis spoke of the role of scientists in the campaign for peace, of the necessity for them to be ambassadors to the politicians and teachers of the people rather than simply analyzing and discovering the essence of phenomena in nature and society. He

voiced a plea, subsequently repeated and supported many times by other participants, for the strengthening of the ties between the scientists of the Balkan peninsula, which can contribute much towards bringing the Balkan peoples closer together.

The paper of Corresponding Member Prof Aleksandur Yankov, chairman of the Bulgarian Association for International Law, on the subject of "The Conversion of the Balkans into a Nuclear-Free Zone--International Aspects," was heard with special interest. He emphasized the urgency of the idea of creating nuclear-free zones given the present alarming state of international relations. In his opinion, the interaction between two trends--the nuclear arms race and the exacerbation of international tension--has reached a critical phase. Professor Yankov characterized the nuclear-free zone by comparing it with the institution of demilitarized zones that preceded it historically and defined it as "a space within the limits of which the development, testing, production, deployment, stockpiling or transportation of nuclear weapons is totally banned by international treaty." The speaker dwelt on attempts to create nuclear-free zones in various parts of the globe and pointed out the relation between the rules governing them and the generally recognized principles and norms of international law. The given multilateral treaty which is the juridical basis of the statute of a zone must be grounded on the principle of the equality of rights and identical security of all the states in the zone, without creating any unilateral advantages whatsoever. In Prof Al. Yankov's opinion, guarantees on the part of the nuclear powers and recognition of the statute of the zone by the other powers are not absolutely mandatory requirements for the juridical statute of a nuclear-free zone, but there is no doubt that the wider the circle of powers that recognize the rules governing the zone and the more effective the guarantees on the part of the nuclear powers, the stabler and the more efficacious these rules will be. "The nuclear-free zone does not create a juridical obligation on states to denounce existing political treaties or to leave the military and political grouping of which they are members; it suffices that these should not be at variance with the obligations they have assumed in respect of the rules governing the nuclear-free zone," the speaker declared. He dwelt further on the real prerequisites for converting the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, emphasizing that this would take political and diplomatic preparation, to which cooperation among scientific and cultural figures could contribute much.

The address of Corresponding Member Efrem Karanfilov was moving, too. He pointed out that the most frightful negation of the human in man is war. The Balkan peoples have preserved their national identities during their difficult history, but genuine national culture is imbued with a principle common to all mankind--humanism. He expressed his anxiety over the future of the Balkans in the words of the French poet Paul Valery, "Hopes are vague, but fears are concrete."

Academician Blagovest Sendov and Academician Khristo Ya. Khristov also spoke. Academician Bl. Sendov stressed the duty of Bulgarian scientists to join their efforts with those of the Bulgarian government for the strengthening of peace in the Balkans. In his opinion, "The task of scientists is to make people not only strong, but also reasonable. The lack of balance between strength and

reason can lead to world catastrophe." This idea was also shared by Academician Khr. Khristov. Therefore science, as it develops from the theological thought of declared truth to rational thought, contributes to the creation of public opinion, to the development of a public movement for peace. He unmasked certain bourgeois allegations that the history of nations, filled with clashes with their neighbors, would prevent the creation of good-neighborly relations of peace and cooperation. "It is not history, but social relations that prevail in a given country and lead to war. An example of this is the United States which, although it has only a 200-year history, has succeeded in provoking numerous conflicts," the speaker declared.

During the second day the session was chaired by Corresponding Member Prof Al. Yankov. It continued with speeches and papers. Senior Science Associate Sava Penkov pointed out the importance of strengthening peaceful and good-neighborly relations among the Balkan countries by treaty law. Law-making activity in their bilateral relations is a precondition for the development of cooperation. The relations of our country with the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Greece were given as an example. With Greece alone we have entered into more than 100 agreements in less than 40 years, which exceeds the number of all the agreements between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire and, later, Greece as well over nearly 13 centuries.

Well-justified interest was elicited by the speech of Academician Khristo Khristov, who emphasized that the present-day era is an era of the democratic spirit and that the greatest task confronting people of science is the campaign for peace. With well-grounded argument he exposed the allegations portraying the neutron bomb as a new "class" of weapon regarded as "clean" and "humane." He showed with specific data that it is a weapon readied for aggressive war, and moreover with all possible speed since its physical structure presupposes the use of elements with a short half-life and during long storage modifications occur in its structure which render it useless.

Prof Marin Ivascu spoke of the paradoxical situation in which two-thirds of mankind have elementary problems in finding food, water and energy, while at the same time astronomical sums are thrown away on arms that call in question the future of human civilization. He stressed that the campaign for peace must be waged not in narrow circles and in symposiums alone, but by involving the masses of the people and the whole of progressive humanity.

Academician Atanas Maleev made a thorough investigation of the medical aspects of the use of nuclear weapons and the necessity of destroying them. He showed that there is no effective means of therapy for atomic war and the alternative is its prophylaxis. Other famous scientists--Academician Kiril Bratanov, chairman of the Council of Scientists and deputy chairman of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, Academician Asen Khadzhiolov and Academician Tasho Tashev--associated themselves with his conclusions. The scientists also shared Pasteur's conviction that peace and science will triumph over ignorance and war. The words of Academician Rumen Tsanov sounded a strong warning, "We must not permit the atom to destroy the gene" and "Man has created nothing more perfect than the human cell, let alone the human brain."

Prof Theodoros Skoulikidis made a very meaty speech about the necessity for Balkan public opinion--scientists, trade unions, women's and youth organizations--to rally behind the campaign for peace. He called attention to the contribution made by the initiative of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences along these lines and expressed his expectations that the example of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences would be followed by other Balkan academies of sciences as well. In his opinion, numerous preconditions are present for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans --the accumulated experience from the functioning of the nuclear-free zone in Latin America, the proposals for the creation of such a zone in Northern Europe, the initiative of the Swedish government regarding the creation of a nuclear-free zone along the boundaries between the two military and political blocs. Professor Skoulikidis proposed the following: 1) that all nuclear weapons, if any, of the Balkan countries--and especially those of Greece and Turkey, as well as foreign bases, should be abolished; 2) that the Balkan countries bind themselves not to acquire nuclear weapons or to use them if they are given to them; 3) that the waste from nuclear power plants should not be used to produce nuclear weapons; and 4) that the nuclear powers should bind themselves to respect the nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

The speech of Prof Vasilios Filyas was specific and objective. He pointed out the similarity in the historical and social development of the Balkan countries in the past, even trying to find a slightly dubious similarity in the racial features of the Balkan peoples. Although his idea of the overestimation of the contrast between socialist and capitalist countries can at the least be called inaccurate, the general spirit of Prof V. Filyas's speech was constructive. It emphasized that there is no neutral science, that scientists must explain to the masses and to political leaders what nuclear catastrophe means and called the idea that there can be a victor in a future war "Mr Reagan's absurd idea." "Instead of undertaking the great problems of mankind, we are undertaking the problem of how to convert outer space into an arena of war," the speaker declared indignantly. He stressed that this meeting of scientists was not accidental--it was inevitable and necessary. Ties in the scientific area must develop into ties in the political area as well.

Especially striking and memorable was the statement by Academician Sava Ganovski that this initiative must not remain only a step, but must turn into a march. He pointed out that the campaign for peace is principled, but also flexible. It must be waged not under the watchword of socialism, but on a broad democratic basis that will unite the whole of Balkan public opinion. It would be appropriate to create an organization of Balkan countries along these lines.

In closing the roundtable, Corresponding Member Al. Yankov declared that the very fact that this meeting was held was already a positive phenomenon. Although it is only one step, it represents a catalyst in the dynamic process of cooperation between scientists from the Balkan countries. It was emphasized that the imperative to take steps and actions to convert the Balkans into a zone of peace and understanding now takes on special urgency. It was suggested that an International scientific conference on the subject of "The Problem of Nuclear-Free Zones in Europe" be held in Sofia in 1984 and also that the materials of the roundtable be published in a collection, "Science and Peace."

In evaluating this meeting of scientists, it must be pointed out that it was a great scientific event with broad political repercussions. There is no doubt that the competent and authoritative voice for peace, cooperation and understanding in the Balkans that rang out from the conference room will be heard by the general public and by political figures so that our future will be bright and optimistic.

6474

CSO: 2200/39

REPORT ON NEWS MEDIA OPERATIONS, TECHNOLOGY

Printing Facilities of RABOTNICHESKO DELO

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Emil Dimitrov: "In Pace with the Times"]

[Text] It is unusual for a person to pass along Lenin Boulevard and not to stop and look at the building of the Dimitur Blagoev Printing Combine. Its monumentality draws one's attention. But few know its history. During the first difficult years after the victory, the communists voluntarily contributed their bit to the building of the editorial offices and printing plant of RABOTNICHESKO DELO. At present, the building on Lenin Boulevard is a symbol of the concern and affection of the BCP for its central organ, for all publishing.

For 30 years now the Dimitur Blagoev Combine has been publishing the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO. Every day the party's word begins its travels from here reaching the furthestmost corner of the motherland. But no matter how dear it is to a whole generation of journalists and printers, the combine has long since exhausted its capacity. At present, it is overpopulated with editorial workers and overfilled with old printing equipment. It operates day and night, not even leaving time for preventive repairs on the rotary equipment. There are no possibilities of further expansion while reconstruction is impossible without halting production.

As of last year the green light was given for the construction of a new editorial and publishing complex for RABOTNICHESKO DELO still on Lenin Boulevard, but about 5 km to the east of the old building, on the site of the Veterinary Hospital. The excavators from the SMP [Construction-Installation Enterprise] Tekhnoeksportstroy [Construction Equipment Export] are already excavating while workers are pouring the reinforced concrete foundations for the composing shop. Service buildings are being put up for the construction workers as well as warehouses and other quarters.

The plans are the concern of a large collective headed by the chief designer architect Petur Petrov. Also involved in it are specialists from Promproekt [Industrial Design Institute], the Scientific Center for Printing and other institutes. The building is a complex technical structure and consists of a

printing production building designed as a low structure and the editorial building which consists of two high structures above it in the form of open books: one is of 9 stories for the editorial offices of RABOTNICHESKO DELO and the other is 15 stories for the editorial offices of the other newspapers. An architectural, compositional and functional unity has been achieved between the two buildings. Provision has been made for all the necessary service facilities, underground parking areas and garages, installations and furnishings which provide the best working conditions.

The building of the combine has taken into account the revolutionary changes in the printing industry. The heavy, dirty and unhealthy labor for the printing worker will be completely eliminated if certain museum exhibits are not kept. Light, spacious and hygienic shops will be full of people wearing white overalls. The lead vapors will not be inhaled and a special climatic unit will provide all the interior areas of the building with fresh air of optimum temperature and humidity.

Metal line-cast typesetting will give way to photographic typesetting and electronic equipment. The old presses will be replaced by new highly productive MAN-Roland offset units. The quality of the newspapers will be improved. Offset printing has greater possibilities for reproduction. The impression of the letter is clearer and brighter while the tones and half-tones of the photographs are better modeled. New modern fonts will be introduced and they will meet high health requirements for reading. When necessary the new equipment can provide four-color printing.

A photocomposition training system will be introduced for training the personnel both in maintenance and operations as well as for mastering the new production processes. The aim is for the installation at the very outset to begin "high speed" operations.

Semiautomatic dispatching will be installed. The flow lines, the binding machines and the label printers will make up standard and non-standard bales of newspapers. The labor of the distributors will become much easier.

The working conditions for the journalists will also be modernized. The furnishings of the editorial offices will conform to the most recent ergonomic requirements and to the results of the scientific research on organizing and managing journalistic labor.

On the basis of the most modern electronic computer equipment, we will operate an information and documentation system. The files with infinite clippings and the drawers with tags will disappear. The older materials will be put on microfilm while the recent ones will be stored in the computer "memory." The computer will provide high speed retrieval of the sought materials and special duplicating equipment will reproduce them immediately.

The information and documentation system will serve all the editorial offices, but full secrecy of their own "files" will be maintained, that is, a portion of the archival materials which are specific and important for individual publications will not be available to the remainder. They can be obtained only by using a special code.

The modern and complex equipment will not only fundamentally alter the labor of the journalists and the printers but will also provide faster and better quality printing of the party, Komsomol and other newspapers. And again a person cannot pass along Lenin Boulevard without his eye catching the editorial and publishing installation of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the result of the party's prompt response to the needs of the central party body and all Bulgarian publishing.

BTA Telex Center

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 1 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Danka Vasileva: "In the Telegraph Style"]

[Text] I get up and look out the window. It is cloudy in Sofia. I leave for the editorial offices and look at the telex to see how things are throughout the world. And in my mind I change the well known statement about books: a telex is the journalist's window to the world. "Good morning, dear colleagues!" it chatters. "I will start with the events of the night...." And there follow speeches, demonstrations, high-level meetings, floods, earthquakes and the world comes awake for you. "The duty personnel of the MINF [International Information] wishes you pleasant work," and the machine falls silent.

The MINF for the non-professionals is the name of the Chief Editorial Offices of International Information of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency [BTA]. Translated into the language of figures it is the link with 40 agencies around the world, 25 correspondents, 24-hour broadcasting for newspapers, radio and television, 36 journalists and from 60 to 100 news releases daily for the nation. It styles itself the "most writing brothers." For each person annually there are over 100 pages of text or altogether enough to publish three thick books. Behind their backs they say that because of them "Horizon" frequently surpasses such rather prestigious radio stations as BBC, for example.

Here one lives, works and thinks in telegraph style. I asked the deputy editor-in-chief Todor Vulchev what was the "greatest" event for him.

"On 4 October 1957, on my first night on duty, the first satellite was launched."

And thus began a "telegraph conversation." But "who killed Kennedy" "who declared war in Vietnam" and who "launched Gagarin." I learned that Zhivka Vitanova, a deputy editor-in-chief, had made "five scoops," while Metodi Krustev, a deputy editor-in-chief, had "invaded Grenada." So much for the jokes. Otherwise, if a telex could think, I would like to declare it the most precise machine. On the other hand not a single word "goes off" over it without being analyzed. Because while we joke, Krasimira Menkadzhieva and Zhecho Yankov varify "kilometers of text" and argue over the most accurate preposition or sentence which most clearly gets across the political sense of the message...

At the same time, in the room with the telexes questions are heard: "Who is the chairman of the Transport Workers Union in..." I leave with the depressing

(for me) feeling that everything at present is now a three-volume encyclopedia. There is no other way. Because on night duty the journalist is alone and no one can provide information for him or help him clarify an unreadable name. Once you have worked there, you will never be free of the "information addiction," they explain to me.

It is liveliest in the "nest of the five world services" as they are called. TASS transmits from Addis Ababa about a seminar on industrial development in Ethiopia. France Presse transmits from New Delhi on the first discovery in India of the remains of dinosaurs. Associated Press describes what events had occurred in world history on that day. From Reuters "the leader of the Radical Party in Argentina states ahead of time that he won the elections." United Press International states that "on Republic Square in Buenos Aires the Radicals and Peronistas had come to blows...."

At this moment I was brought a telex:

Moscow. Special for the newspaper OTECHESTVEN FRONT. (The BTA correspondents Veselin Yankov, Valeri Naydenov, Khristo Ignatievski). Although far from Sofia and the editorial offices, the collective of the BTA Bureau in Moscow is celebrating Bulgarian Journalist Day. First of all we must "complain" as we have a great deal of work. But even better, we are celebrating our holiday behind the typewriter. Naturally we envy our colleagues who will participate in the ceremony in Sofia. With all our heart we wish them new creative successes, new original and timely articles, reports and commentaries.

The colleagues from Moscow understood our presence and helped us. We tried to get in touch with the most distant and "hottest" correspondent post. But it was night in Tokyo and in Beirut there was not always power (the machine did not work) so I could not celebrate the holiday with Ivo Indzhev. Let him know that we are also congratulating him in this report.

New Communications Equipment

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 1 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by Kiril Aksharov: "New Communications Equipment"]

[Text] The communications network in the [Razgrad] Okrug is being intensely developed and modernized. New modern equipment is being introduced and the time for this type of services is being shortened. Now the okrug center maintains telex links with a hundred nations of the world. The existing telephones from the start of the year have increased by 2,932 and the telexes by 12. New telephone exchanges have been built in the villages of Plosko, Topolnitsa and Banya. After construction has been concluded on the automatic telephone exchange in the Blagoevgrad housing complex "9 September," the telephone subscribers in the okrug city will increase by another 4,000.

10272

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STRUCTURE OF CPCZ PRAGUE ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, 1983 signed to press pp 6, 7

[Article by Vladimír Hynek, secretary of the CPCZ municipal committee, Prague: "It Is Necessary To Strengthen the Party Influence at Key Work-places"]

[Text] Annual membership meetings of basic organizations, factory and city ward conferences, and the municipal CPCZ conference paid increased attention to the expansion and improvement of the membership base in the Prague municipal party organization. They examined how the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the CPCZ Central Committee were being implemented under the conditions of individual organizations, city wards and of Prague as a whole.

A more thorough analysis of the development of the membership base illustrated the necessity of reassessment of some principles which have been observed in practice so far as well as of the consequences of their application, in other words, of whether the results achieved met the present and future needs of the party in the conditions of the capital. In the analysis the party organs and organizations took into account the concrete conditions existing in our metropolis for the expansion of the membership base. The crux of the problem lies in whether we shall continue to insist on the condition that the ratio of blue-collar workers among the candidate members of the party must not drop below 50 percent or whether we shall choose other criteria. Analyses of and consultations on these problems led to the conclusion by the municipal party conference that the existing practice would have to be revised. What were the reasons for this decision?

As the capital of the CSSR, Prague represents an important industrial population center. Approximately 8.6 percent of entire state industrial production is concentrated on its territory. Extensive capital investment is taking place here at the present time: 18 percent of the total construction volume is centered on 0.4 percent of the territory of both republics. Moreover, there is in Prague a wide network of trade and services, a big large concentration of central economic and state agencies, cultural, educational and scientific institutions, mass communication media and so on in which the influence of the party must be continuously strengthened and intensified.

According to the statistical data, blue-collar workers account for approximately 40 percent of the entire labor force in our capital, which is approximately 20 percent less than in other Czech krajs. In material production, however, which is the principal basis for the admission of candidate members, only 66.7 percent of Prague blue-collar workers work. To continue in this situation along the present line, that is, to insist on the principle that at least 50 percent of the proposed candidate members must be blue-collar workers, would result in a decline in the number of party members in nonproduction organizations. At the same time, serious problems would arise in strengthening party influence at such important workplaces of plants and enterprises as engineering offices, departments of production preparation, among the foremen and other intermediate technical cadres, where a number of capable young people work in whose admission to the party we are interested.

The present, frequently mechanical application of some principles governing the development of the membership base under the conditions of the municipal party organization led to various paradoxes. In research institutes, for example, the admission of candidate members from their ranks was made dependent upon the number of blue-collar workers and was therefore absolutely unrealistic. A similar situation prevailed in some institutions, health establishments and elsewhere. This actually concerned a certain administrative measure aimed at strengthening the working-class core regardless of the development of the membership base in the nonproduction organizations in which the membership shrank in recent years, although many of them are of great societal importance.

One of the problems which the Prague Municipal Committee had to deal with was the age structure of the rank and file. In some organizations, such as ministries and foreign trade enterprises, communists 50 years old and older constitute a substantial part of the membership base. They will gradually reach retirement age, and this necessitates the adoption of effective measures to prevent a decline in the existing membership base.

During the past period the municipal party organization discharged among others also the task resulting from the resolution of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee calling for an increase in the number of candidate members admitted from the mass news media and foreign trade enterprises, where a low ratio of party membership persists, although these institutions are politically significant. This measure is very important; however, in the conditions of the capital it further aggravated the already existing problems in the development of the membership base in other nonproduction organizations. Following the municipal conference, the CPCZ municipal committee therefore began to observe principles of the development of the membership base which take into account the concrete conditions of basic organizations, municipal organization as well as of the party as a whole. Wherein lies their essence?

Despite all the complexities in the party buildup in Prague, the CPCZ municipal committee considers its most important task to be to ensure that

the Prague working class forms the principal and most important segment of the municipal party organization also in the future, since it corresponds to its glorious revolutionary tradition as well as to its present status. With this objective in mind it places emphasis on the working class in key industrial enterprises and plants and construction organizations. We shall not judge the fulfillment of this task, however, simply according to the number of candidate party members proposed from the ranks of blue-collar workers, but according to whether the admission of new candidate members ensures the specified number of blue-collar workers in Prague. We regard the present situation--that is, approximately 29,000 economically active blue-collar workers--as the minimum number of blue-collar workers in the party. The municipal party committee sets these minimum numbers for individual city wards with reference to their concrete possibilities. The present numbers will be slightly increased in some instances.

The first analyses already reveal that to fulfill this strategic task will be a hard nut to crack for many organizations. The anticipated natural decreases, because of reaching retirement age, for example, and for other reasons, signalize that at the present rate of admission of new candidate members the number of economically active blue-collar workers would decline. It will be therefore necessary to plan the replenishment of party ranks with reference to the specific situation in individual party organizations and anticipated changes in their membership base. This will, however, require the basic party organizations and city ward committees to analyze, with more responsibility than in the past, the development of the membership base and the needs of its further expansion.

A completely different procedure than in the past must be followed by the city ward committees, factory committees and party organizations in admitting candidate members in the nonproduction organizations. As the key factor in the management of expansion of the membership base the CPCZ municipal committee regards a consistent analysis of the present situation (of the number, distribution, age structure of membership) in individual organizations, evaluation of needs of further expansion of the membership base and, on this basis, the formulation of a concrete program of admission of candidate members including their occupational structure. In other words, the basic organizations themselves must in the first place explore more thoroughly the possibilities of expansion of their own membership base and set concrete targets in accordance with the present and future needs of the party.

The past practice of determining "from above" the number of candidate members to be admitted ruled out such a procedure. The effort of basic organizations was directed toward achieving the specified number in the structure determined in advance without anybody examining whether precisely this structure met the real needs of this or that organization. Also the city ward party committee directed and controlled the expansion of the membership base predominantly from the standpoint of achieving the planned number of candidate members in a definite social structure, while paying no attention to the desirable formation of party ranks in individual basic organizations. All this was due to a certain long-established system which optically

appeared as the regulation of the expansion of the membership base in accordance with the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Under the conditions prevailing in Prague, it is therefore imperative to react concretely to the situation in individual party organizations so that everywhere, but primarily at workplaces of key importance, conditions are created for the purposeful strengthening of party influence without any administrative restrictions. In this context the question may arise of whether this procedure does not amount to opening the door to mass admission of workers of nonblue-collar categories into the party and will not result in the undesirable change of the class profile if the municipal party organization. Not at all. We shall demand such admission of candidate members from the blue-collar ranks that will preserve and strengthen the working class core of the municipal party organization. Together with the elimination of existing administrative restrictions, we shall thus create prerequisites for strengthening communist ranks wherever the party does not have sufficient influence, particularly in the nonproduction organizations and institutions. We shall demand that the admission of candidate members be in full accordance with party needs and in the optimum quality, that is, in accordance with the CPCZ statutes, which provide for the admission only of those candidate members who will be a real asset to the party. Moreover, much stricter criteria will have to be applied not only by the basic organizations, but also by the city ward committees, in management and control. They will have to judge with more responsibility than in the past the quality of people proposed as candidate members and to guarantee that the capacity of action of basic organizations will be in no way impaired.

Already the first findings of some city ward party committees indicate that the measures of the party municipal committee aimed at expanding the membership base have won support, and that they are reflected in the specific measures taken by the party organs and organizations. This has been so, for example, in the city ward party organization in Prague 6, where the comrades from the department for supervising party work in industry have completed a detailed comprehensive analysis which objectively evaluates not only the actual situation in the admission of blue-collar workers as CPCZ candidate members, but also the possibilities of additional sources and needs of expanding the membership base both in this sector and other workplaces and schools.

Other city ward committees work on similar analyses or prepare them in such a way as to have, prior to their plenary sessions devoted to these questions, enough objective findings on the possibilities and needs of the development and improvement of the membership base of the city ward party organization.

The questions of the formation of the membership base are comprehensively dealt with by the municipal and city ward party committees and their secretaries who bear the responsibility for party work in individual sectors. They reflect upon the situation and needs of sectors, and discuss the results of analyses and adopted resolutions with the activists among the officials of factory committees and CPCZ basic organizations. The CPCZ municipal

committee acquainted a large meeting of party activists with the new principles. It is becoming clear that their application will necessitate giving up certain simplified ideas rapidly. In a number of instances the communists in basic organizations complained that the city ward committees made it impossible for them to admit new candidate members according to their needs. However, they were not able to give an unambiguous answer to the question of how many people were ready, in their opinion, to join the party. This also must change.

Time and life alone will verify the correctness of all measures taken by the CPCZ municipal committee for the better formation of ranks of the municipal party organization. The fact is that the consistent observation of adopted principles will contribute to higher efficiency of party political work and to the achievement of the strategic goal of strengthening party influence at the workplaces of key importance in the first place.

10501

CSO: 2400/65

YOUTH'S PREFERENCE FOR WESTERN LIFESTYLE FAULTED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 41, 12 Oct 63 p 6

[Article by Josef Zyrotek]

[Text] Several months ago an article appeared in TRIBUNA on the preference of our youth for Western symbols, or advertisement. This was a remarkable article corresponding to a consistent analysis of phenomena in the life of youth on the basis of critical perception. I had hoped that the article was non-Western and that workers of other communications media also would respond to that article with conversations with young people or some satirical or critical ditty. We are not aware of anything like that, however. It is true that there has been sufficient talk to and about youth, but rather from positions of amusement and validity in their interests, for example, in popular music, clothing fashions, travel and the like. There has been a complete disappearance from television and radio programs of conversations with youth about the life of youth in capitalism and in the developed countries, the meaning of life, the facts of modernity and progress, cultural taste, class spirit and collectivism, decadence and reactionary tendencies in art and culture, the social struggle of youth in Western countries, the socialist lifestyle and the like. Today's youth lacks this knowledge and often considers things and processes around themselves only in accordance with their own experience and knowledge. They do not like the simple, but rather the varied and complex, and are inclined to admire the strong and imposing.

And because there is a large gap in our upbringing, it is no wonder that some strata of youth see a model in the technology of the American Automobile, in the "rock-and-roll" culture, in the vital style of pleasure-seeking of sons and daughters from American business circles and in moral regions of ruthlessness and individualism. Then it is no wonder that many young people spread their sympathy for Western ways of life, which if once swallowed would mark a great shock and rapid revival in the form of social uncertainties and the moral jungle; but certainly it already is late.

In the scientific world it is known that in many branches the USSR is far ahead of the West, as is testified to by the purchase of Soviet licenses in the United States, the FRG and Great Britain. It also is necessary to acquaint our youth far more deeply with the successes of Czechoslovak

science, with the high course of our scientists and scientists from abroad. We think it would be harmless to limit the popularization of singers of popular music and give more space to portraits of prominent Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists and inventors in children's periodicals. Capable publicists and well known literati could in that section in an attractive form achieve much not only for the general education of our youth but also for the pride of young people in socialist reality. As politically educated efforts amplify this in our communications media, periodicals and conversations in plants, the attachment of some strata of our youth toward the West will certainly be weakened and in our streets we will not encounter boys and girls with a shallow attraction to capitalist civilization in artifacts and clothes.

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CSO: 2400/64

BRIEFS

U.S. SPACE PLANS CONDEMNED--New York (CTK)--The U.S. plans to militarize space were condemned by Czechoslovak representative Jiri Pavlovsky at a session of a special UN committee in New York. In particular, he drew attention to the fact that the Pentagon intends to carry out plans to create the so-called systems of anti-satellite defense and anti-satellite weapons in parallel with deploying hundreds of new American nuclear weapons in Western Europe. He stressed the special topicality of the Soviet proposal, submitted at the current 38th UN General Assembly session, on concluding a treaty "On the Nonuse Of Force In Space And From Space Against the Earth." The proposal is a concrete expression of numerous appeals by the member countries of the Warsaw Pact to the NATO member countries, among other things, also last January at the session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative in Prague. States which have the largest space potential at their disposal should follow the example of the USSR, and pledge that they will not station any weapon systems in space, the Czechoslovak representative concluded. [CTK report: "Condemnation of Militarist Objectives"] [Text] [AU171150 Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Nov 83 p 2]

SUPPORT FOR MISSILE ACCORD--The accord concluded between the CSSR and USSR Governments for ensuring the defense ability of our country and that of the other countries of the socialist community was met with approval by the overwhelming majority of our working people. Socialist labor brigades, collectives, as well as individual workers and technicians are supporting the decision that has been made, and not only by words, but also by concrete deeds and new pledges; by fulfilling them, they want to contribute toward consolidating peace. The working people in plants and enterprises are thus expressing their support for the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and by other socialist states. This is their way of expressing their decision to do everything to preserve the world peace. [Vlastimil Svoboda commentary in the "Notes" column: "Acts in Support of Peace"] [Excerpts] [AU231518 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 83 p 2]

THE GREENS' VISIT: COURSE AND EPILOGUE

Reception, Intentions, Illusions

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Nov 83 pp 21-22

[Article: "Very Shaky"]

[Text] The press speaker of the Greens, Renate Mohr, was so excited that she forgot to continue to take notes; Herbert Haerber, department chief for relations with the West in the SED Central Committee, attempted to correct his boss, Erich Honecker, in public.

The meeting of the chairman of the GDR State Council, Honecker, with an 8-member delegation of the Greens from the Bonn Bundestag occasionally turned from a stiff-formal political summit into a cheerful political show of the kind enjoyed by the parliamentary outsiders from the West.

With an assiduous smile, Honecker accepted a picture of the sculpture "Swords Into Plowshares" although the slogan, the leitmotiv of the GDR peace movement, is despised in the SED state. But the SED chief had no choice: The sculpture has been displayed for years in front of the United Nations in New York--a gift from the USSR. Honecker also overlooked the fact that Petra Kelly confronted him in a T-shirt whose front side quite visibly read "Swords Into Plowshares".

After more than a 2-hour conversation, the chairman of the State Council told his startled guests in a relaxed and direct manner that he actually would very much like to sign the "personal peace treaty". The "alternatives" had handed the treaty--drawn by hand on green cardboard--to their host by way of a greeting.

The top GDR politician indicated that he readily agrees with the obligations contained therein: (1) to renounce the mutual use of force and (2) not to regard each other as enemies and to dismantle enemy images. And if he were a citizen of the FRG, he said, he would have no difficulty to advocate the unilateral disarmament demanded under point 3. As chief of state of the GDR, however, he made it clear, he has the constitutional mandate to secure the defense of his state.

But this the Greens refused to let stand. Encouraged by the unexpected willingness to oblige, they tried to wheedle his signature under point 3 as well; after all, they pointed out, unilateral disarmament would result in greater disarmament for all states.

At that point, as Dirk Schneider, speaker of the Greens parliamentary group for inner-German relations, observed, Honecker became "very shaky". That did not remain a secret to Central Committee member Haeber. Evidently seriously alarmed, he tried to put the brakes on his boss.

The agreement, he said, was after all only a "political gag". In any case, he pointed out, Honecker cannot sign point 3. And after all, Haeber muttered brusquely, the SED chief should really forget about signing.

The intervention had only a limited effect; Honecker "spontaneously" (Schneider) put his name and the date under the first two demands. Schneider on the event: "Honecker probably felt the need, after the controversial exchange of opinion, to find agreement with us as well."

It remained an agreement on green cardboard. After their excursion into the Eastern domains, the Greens returned confused and also sobered.

No one among the at times somewhat naive peace advocates, who in two consecutive weeks chattered with politicians in Moscow and East Berlin, had seriously hoped to be able to get the Eastern world power or its allies to change their mind. And likewise it could hardly be expected that the Greens would be able to influence the boss of the Socialist Unity Party with good will, small jokes or illusionary demands in such a way that in the end he would fall out of the Warsaw Pact line.

But then, properly speaking, they had hoped for a bit more than "niceties"; for their host, after all, had of late expended an astonishing amount of kindness in cultivating German-German relations: Franz Josef Strauss, as well as Udo Lindenberg were flattered; all of a sudden the previously despised word of the "German people" turned up in the GDR vocabulary. But the balance sheet of the Greens remained meager. They were allowed to demonstrate against the SS-20 and to visit pacifists in the GDR. They were allotted a gesture, as Strauss, too, experienced it similarly: One GDR peace advocate, a woman, was released.

In NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND), to be sure, as little was said about the fact that the West Germans had met not only with Erich Honecker, but also with the East Berlin Protestant bishop Gottfried Forck, as well as with like-minded people of the autonomous East German peace movement.

The ND readers were also deprived from learning about the T-shirt worn by Petra Kelly during the Honecker reception. In the account of the meeting it is merely mentioned that in the "candid discussion" "different points of view as well were represented". In addition a picture in which the Kelly-shirt was cleverly covered up.

Yet the SED paper made very clear what significance the party leadership attaches to the visit: The article graced page 1 in a four-column layout. As

a rule, at most allied heads of state or national liberation fighters have so much honor bestowed upon them in the book of prayers of the East Berlin court.

The display corresponds to the place accorded to the Greens in the propaganda strategy against the counterarmament. Already after the entry of the Greens into the Bundestag, Central Committee member Haeber had instructed the SED officials that there are now 28 missile opponents in the West German parliament, who deserved every support.

And so the reaction of the SED was unusually accommodating when Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian last May demonstrated on the Alex[anderplatz] [Alexander Square] against armament in West and East. The two, to be sure, were arrested for a short time. But Erich Honecker expressed his regret a little bit later in a letter that, because of other obligations, he was unable to meet with the Greens.

In order to please the West German peace movement, the SED boss even put up with the fact that the most recent visit by the Greens also gave a lift to people for whom such encouragement by the official host, strictly speaking, was not intended: The mood among the East Berlin peace advocates after the reception of the Greens by Honecker was "euphoric" (in the words of an East Berlin peace activist).

That the chairman of the State Council of all people affixed his partial signature to the "personal peace treaty" they took as their own success. For up to now the SED has consistently rejected such agreements between East and West Germans, which have been propagated by the East German peace movement, as dangerous fraternization with the class enemy.

That beyond the atmospherics nothing goes in the East might have dawned on the Greens during the next to last week in Moscow.

Thus the Soviet discussion partners reacted with complete lack of understanding to the stubbornly-presented proposal that Moscow for the time being should begin with the scrapping of its SS-20's down to the number of the French and British missiles, without waiting for an agreement in Geneva.

This, the Greens attempted to persuade their discussion partners, is the last chance to prevent the counterarmament. But the Soviets countered: Who in that case would give them the guarantee that the United States in its turn would in fact forego the stationing of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles?

The assurance of the Greens that the peace movement would see to this met with mild ridicule on the part of the realists of power: The opponents of armament in the FRG, they were told, after all are not even strong enough to prevent the counterarmament decision in their own country.

Last but not least, the Greens wanted to demonstrate their own independence with their trips to the East. But with their activism and their chit-chat demand, such as that to Erich Honecker, that he should allow Western visitors at last to enter the GDR by bicycle as well, they were unable either in East Berlin or in Moscow to cover up their naivete in regard to their association with the politically powerful.

The most impressive example of guilelessness was provided by the speaker of the Greens parliamentary group Otto Schily. As late as immediately prior to the departure, the Berlin lawyer firmly believed that the political functionaries in Moscow would hand the Greens a new disarmament proposal as a gift and thus provide support for the West German peace movement.

That was even too much for Schily's colleagues. "Otto," said the speaker of the Greens parliamentary group, Marie-Luise Beck Oberdorf, "you are a dreamer."

Where the line between dream and reality runs, was made unmistakably clear by the unity socialists. Immediately after their visit in East Berlin, the Greens had publicly announced that last Friday they would march, together with peace advocates from Western Europe and the GDR, to the embassies of the United States and the USSR in East Berlin and there deliver disarmament appeals.

Several hundred East Germans, including numerous members of the group "Women for Peace" around the widow of the regime critic Robert Havemann, Katja Havemann, wanted to take part in this march in order to proclaim their new self-confidence.

Very much to the consternation of Evangelical Church functionaries. They reproach the Greens with wanting to "misuse" the peace engagement of the GDR-base "for their own purposes". The church people fear that too much solidarity between the Greens and their own peace movement, which is independent from the state and is recruited primarily from young Protestant Christians, could place a burden on the relations of the church to the SED state. Honecker, according to their argument against the announced embassy spectacle, as it is has trouble with some comrades in the Politburo because of his friendly association with the Greens.

The church men were proved right: On Thursday Central Committee member Haerber turned up among the Greens in Bonn and urgently requested that the Friday action be called off, since the GDR could not accept such a demonstration. He left a message for the general manager of the Greens, Lukas Beckmann, that he should not even attempt to enter the GDR on Friday morning.

Two Greens-deputies, to be sure, made it through, but were arrested in East Berlin and sent back to West Berlin as "persons not wanted".

Their own people were disciplined by the State Security Service in the usual way: On Thursday Manfred Stolpe of the Protestant Church Administration was called to the Central Committee. When he reported that the action could no longer be stopped, a raiding squad went into operation: During the night prior to Friday numerous peace advocates were provisionally arrested.

Return to Normalcy

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters datelined Berlin 6 Nov 83: "For the State Organs, the World's All Right Again"]

[Text] East Berlin's splendid street Unter den Linden, on which the Soviet Embassy is located, even on Friday evening is still firmly in the hand of the security organs of the GDR. Between the Brandenburger Tor and Friedrichstrasse there are not only patrols of countless uniformed policemen, but also bands of conspicuously inconspicuous civilians are meandering--always in two's--up and down. If a harmless walker approaches, not a single one of his steps remains unobserved. If he is still of youthful age, or if he wears a full beard, then two policemen soon take him in the middle and ask him for his identification papers. While one of them steps aside with the identification papers and transmits the data through a walkie-talkie, the other one does not leave the side of the person who has been stopped.

In front of the American Embassy, a stone's throw away from the "Linden", in the Neustaedtischen Kirchstrasse the same picture. A man who is walking his dog attracts the attention of the "organs". Could it be that the dog is trained to run on his own into the embassy with a document? Uniformed policemen are blocking the entrance to the American Embassy. They would not let a trained dog through. At the Soviet Embassy only one entrance is not locked. It is bathed in glistening light. Here two policemen in the archway form a living wall. "Mission protection", I believe, is what something like this is called.

For the "organs" the world is all right again, after Honecker had irritated them at the beginning of the past week through his talk with the Greens. Since Thursday evening they can again do as they like. In the downtown district of East Berlin nothing suspicious eludes them. Those who are included in their lists must expect unpleasant visitors, regardless of whether they planned to take part in the action on Friday or not.

On Monday the 7 deputies of the Greens from the FRG had announced during their palaver with SED-General Secretary Honecker that on the following Friday they would deliver a petition against the arms race in East and West in the Soviet and the American Embassies in East Berlin, together with members of independent peace groups. In response to questions about Honecker's reaction to the announcement, Petra Kelly had told journalists last Monday that they did not ask for a permit but rather merely informed Honecker about the action. Two days later the parliamentary group of the Greens in Bonn received the visit of a GDR representative who informed them that the entry of Greens into East Berlin would not be possible on that Friday. The deputies Petra Kelly, Bastian and Schily, whose participation in the joint action the peace groups in the GDR had expected, thereupon evidently stayed at home. At any rate, on Friday afternoon only the two Bundestag deputies of the Greens, Horacek and Waltraud Schoppe, came to the agreed-upon meeting place at the Friedrichstrasse station. The Bundestag deputy Gaby Potthast, as well as the federal manager of the Greens, Beckmann, who wanted to deliver a letter of protest to Honecker, had been refused permission to enter. Beckmann had been a member of the Greens-delegation

which on Monday had talked with Honecker.

The two Bundestag deputies of the Greens met Friday noon at the Friedrichstrasse station with about 50 supporters of the independent GDR peace groups as well as a squad of civilian security forces and uniformed policemen. They were joined by the East Berlin city youth pastor Passauer, who informed them that the GDR authorities would not tolerate the planned action and would do anything to prevent it. He said that Bishop Forck had declared himself ready to deliver the petitions yet in the afternoon in the two embassies. The pastor confirmed that in part already during the previous evening more than 30 persons, including many church staff members, had been placed under provisional arrest. Others, he himself among them, he said, were placed under house arrest. He informed them that he was only allowed to go for the purpose of communicating the prohibition. He advised the people present to give up their plan and to disperse. But everyone would have to decide himself what he would do.

In view of the hopelessness of being able to carry out their plan, the people who were present dispersed. They could not know that the GDR authorities also did not allow Bishop Forck to deliver the petitions. On Friday evening Bishop Forck, in a statement to the press, then expressed his regret that he was not allowed by the GDR leadership to visit the ambassadors of the Soviet Union and the United States in East Berlin. At the same time he appealed to it to release those provisionally arrested in connection with the planned action and to lift the imposed house arrests. At the same time he reinforced that it is an urgent concern of the entire church and of all people apprehensive about peace that the great powers should come to an agreement in the Geneva missile negotiations.

At the time when the bishop had his communication published by the press office of the East Berlin Church Council on Friday evening, and when the security organs were still anticipated that the bishop could suddenly appear before one of the two embassies and request that he be admitted--which they were determined to prevent--the two Bundestag deputies of the Greens were already back in the West. Gaby Potthast and Horacek had been arrested in East Berlin in the early afternoon, had been declared to be persons not wanted, and had been deported across the sector border to West Berlin. The speaker of the parliamentary group of the Greens in the Bundestag, Petra Kelly, at this time already sent off a telegram to Honecker, in which she expressed her "deepest indignation" about the harsh proceedings of the East Berlin authorities against members of the independent peace movement in the GDR. The followers of GDR peace groups arrested in East Berlin, she pointed out, through concrete steps are advocating the same goals about which the GDR leadership constantly speaks.

On Saturday, after the security organs of the GDR had been able to report that they were successful in thwarting the announced action by peace groups of the GDR and the Greens from the FRG, some of the people provisionally arrested--and now again set free--reported to their friends in West Berlin that all together several hundred persons were subjected to "preventive" arrest by the GDR authorities or placed under house arrest. The figure of more than 30, disseminated in the West, they said, referred merely to permanently appointed church staff employees. Among those subjected to preventive arrest were the East Berlin writer Lutz Rathenow and his wife, as well as the design artist Baerbel Bohley and Gerd Poppe who are involved in peace work, but not--as initially reported--the young writer Ruediger Kosenthal.

The security organs of the GDR, so it seems, went to all lengths. Did the Greens really expect something else? Their federal manager Beckmann wrote to Honecker that whoever reacts to the readiness for external peace with arrests and repressions on the inside, against the citizens of his own country, loses his credibility. Referring to the discussion with Honecker, Beckmann said that the positive and constructive course of the discussion did not lead anyone to expect such a reaction on the part of the security agencies. Are the Greens really that naive?

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SEVEN WORLD MASTERWORKS STOLEN FROM BUDAPEST MUSEUM

ESTI HIRLAP on Paintings' History

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by Marta Harangozo: "The Adventurous Life of the Art Treasures"]

[Text] Hungarian art lovers and we may assuredly add the population of the entire country were astounded by the news: on the night from 5 November to 6 November unknown perpetrators broke into the Museum of Fine Arts and stole seven art treasures which are the property of the Hungarian people and a part of humanity's universal cultural treasure. During their centuries of existence the seven stolen paintings underwent many adventures, and we can only trust they will also pull through the most serious adventure of their history and return to their original place in the Budapest Fine Arts Museum.

Portrait of a Young Man

Among the art treasures are world famous valuables like the two paintings of Raphael which were shown at a recent exhibit and were reviewed in our newspaper. "The Portrait of a Young Man" is the immortal masterwork of the Italian artist who died young. According to experts the portrait depicts Pietro Bembo, poet and humanist. The prince of painters did this work when both he and Bembo were staying at the court of Urbino, that is, between 1504 and 1506. In the 16th century the poet's portrait was an outstanding piece in the Padova collection. This work of Raphael was listed in the 1812 Esterhazy catalogue, but exactly what adventures brought it from Padova to the Esterhazys is not known; as far as I am aware, the history of art has not been able to pursue this story to its conclusion.

Gorgione

The other painting by Raphael is the small-scale "Esterhazy Madonna." It is an unfinished piece of the master, but a work of art which in its unfinished state is brilliant and extremely valuable as art history. The work may date from about 1508, and it was in the Esterhazy collection already in the 18th century. According to an inscription of the back it

came to Vienna as a gift of Pope Clement to Queen Elizabeth, and subsequently it was owned by Prince Kaunitz and then the Esterhazys. (The pen-and-ink sketch of the work remained in the Florentine Uffizi.)

The burglars also took paintings by Tiepolo the Elder and Tiepolo the Younger: Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's "Mary with the Six Saints" and Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo's "Holy Family at Rest." Despite first reports it was not the work of Palma Vecchio that fell victim to the unconscionable depraved robbers who pilfered precious treasures of a nation but rather a work by an unknown painter apparently depicting Giorgione. This small painting also had an adventurous career until it became a piece in the Fine Arts Museum. Prior to 1636 it was in the Vientian collection of Bartolommeo della Nave, and then it became the property of the English Duke Hamilton. Thereafter it found its way into the gallery of Wilhelm Lipot in Brussels and Vienna, and then into the imperial collection at Vienna and into the Buda Castle. In 1848 it passed from the chancellery in Buda into national ownership. Although it had wandered from country to country, the small work of art painted on paper and stretched on wood had passed until now through every storm. We hope this will be true again...

Tintoretto's "Portrait of a Woman" followed the same path as the portrait of Giorgione. "The Portrait of a Man," also by Tintoretto, came to Hungary in the 18th century as a gift of Adam Kollar, director of the Viennese court library.

Catastrophe

Yesterday the telephone was ringing all day at the Fine Arts Museum. Dr Klara Garas, Museum director, was sought after not only by Hungarian newsmen, art historians and lovers of art, but also received calls from Vienna, Rome, Berlin, London and Hamburg.

We had a short talk with the director. The internationally respected art historian was shaken and dismayed, she called what had happened a "catastrophe." If anyone does, she knows exactly how much poorer the nation will be if these paintings are not recovered in good condition.

"I do not even want to think of this," said Klara Garas. "I have faith that the art treasures will return undamaged to the Fine Arts Museum."

National, International Help Solicited

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by Gy. P.: "Search for Robbers of the Art Treasures Is Continuing"]

[Text] Consternation was evoked by the Sunday evening news that on the late evening of 5 November unknown perpetrators stole from the Budapest Fine Arts Museum seven irreplaceable masterworks, paintings worth many millions on the art market. Next day the police turned to the population via television for help.

Following the appeal a number of persons called in. On the basis of these calls and clues left at the scene the police assume that the suspects are youths who used an automobile for their deed. After the break-in a special screwdriver of American manufacture with the inscription "Parana USA PV 68 SQ," a hemp cord, and a plastic bag were found at the scene.

On Tuesday, after the holiday, the telephone was ringing every minute at the office of the Fine Arts Museum. Inquiries came from the capital city, from other parts of the country, and from abroad as to how the search was progressing, and what was known about the fate of the paintings. The reply was always essentially the same: in the interest of the investigation no information could be given for the time being.

Since the discovery of the crime it is obvious that the thieves stole art works which are outstanding valuables of universal culture and of the national treasures of Hungary. Raphael's "Esterhazy Madonna" and "Portrait of a Young Man" depicting Pietro Bemo passed in 1980 from the Esterhazy collection to state ownership. First they were housed in the National Art Gallery and then in 1906 with the opening of the institution they found their home in the Fine Arts Museum. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's "Mary with Six Saints" was donated by Janos Pyrker, archbishop of Eger, to the public collection. It was moved from the National Museum in 1906 into the Fine Arts Museum. A similar path was followed by Tintoretto's "Portrait of a Woman" as well as another of his works, "Portrait of a Man." Tiepolo the Younger's oil painting, of the "Holy Family at Rest," was donated to the Fine Arts Museum in 1932 by an art collector.

Some of the works became the Hungarian nation's property following a decree by Lajos Kossuth. Not only the value of the stolen paintings as expressible in money is exceptional but also their moral value is inestimable. Therefore, everyone certainly agrees with Klara Garas, director of the Fine Arts Museum, when she expressed the hope that the works stolen from the institution could be recovered with the help of international public opinion. Of course, there is also the question as to what kind of security conditions exist in the Fine Arts Museum, which holds such irreplaceable treasures, if thieves can have access to such great valuables. Public opinion also has the right to an answer to this question.

The police are also asking that anyone with information about the paintings or the above mentioned objects should call the central service of the Budapest Police Headquarters, or any other police organ. In regard to the stolen paintings it is important to know that one should not think of some large object in a frame. The unknown criminals took the pictures on wood from the frames and cutout paintings on canvas with razor blades, leaving the frames in place. The canvas paintings removed from the frames could have been rolled up by the criminals.

[Photo caption]

The stolen art treasures: 1. Raphael: Portrait of a Young Man (depicting Pietro Bembo)--2. Giorgione portrait by an unknown painter--3. Tintoretto: Portrait of a Woman--4. Tintoretto: Portrait of a Man--5. Raphael: Esterhazy Madonna--6. Tiepolo the Elder: Mary with Six Saints--7. Tiepolo the Younger: Holy Family at Rest



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MILITIA, INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIALS DISCUSS POLICY, ACCOMPLISHMENTS

PZPR Official on Discipline

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 12 Oct 83 p 5

[Interview with Colonel Zbigniew Pochec, first secretary of the PZPR City District [KD] Committee in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by Robert Makowski: "We Are Tested in Service to Society"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Thirty-nine years ago, on 7 October 1944, the decree on establishing the Citizens' Militia [MO] was issued. We are talking to Colonel Zbigniew Pochec, first secretary of the PZPR KD in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Question] Has the secretary of the party organization in such a unique Institute as the Ministry of Internal Affairs an easy life?

[Answer] Looking from outside, one might say that the secretary has it easier here than somewhere else, since the ministry forms a closed organism. It is easier, since no political adversary operates here, comes to our meetings, or leads us astray in ideology or politics. One should, however, consider it in a different way. Officers of the MO and the Security Service [SB] have always been--in recent years more than ever--exposed to a very strong pressure. This was manifested, inter alia, in attempts to establish labor unions here, something that never happens in any security apparatus or any services of public order worldwide. Due to such attempts, officers were exposed to strong psychological and political pressure outside their service quarters. Pressure was also exerted on officers' families. Even acts of physical violence were attempted. In his fight against the political adversary, our officer must be armed with profound ideological and political knowledge in order to remain immune to demagoguery, to be able to participate in debates, to accomplish difficult tasks. Ideological subversion, like all other hostile actions, aims at the weakening of our apparatus. To counteract it, the party organization, and the secretary himself as the organizer of party work, must act in such a way that officers are always professionally, politically, and ideologically prepared to establish contact with all their adversaries. In other words,

here political and ideological work are extremely essential, important, and difficult.

[Question] That involves deep commitment. As I understand it, the problem of working overtime does not exist here.

[Answer] Indeed, as far as payment is concerned, the question does not arise here. Service duties nearly always demand more than 10 hours' work. There is no standardized working day, and the secretary does not find it easy to arrange a training session with discussion or to convene a meeting. Meetings, however, must be held, and they are held. From this point of view, the secretary has a difficult life. In our ministry party work could never be relaxed, since the aim of all party activity, of all the initiatives of party organizations in every unit, [working] hand in hand with service superiors, is to prepare all units for the fulfillment of tasks set by the ministry. The officers' behavior and posture prove that we have managed to accomplish those goals. They prove that the intense activity of the secretaries of party organizations was effective and satisfactory. Day in and day out, each one of them has to pass a difficult test, while we, at the KD level, have the duty to do everything possible to organize and to plan party work in a way which makes the most effective implementation of all the tasks possible. The level of difficulty is also affected by the fact that we operate at the point of direct confrontation with the adversary, within the broadest meaning of the term. In many cases an officer is left to his own devices, and has to make difficult decisions on his own.

[Question] You mentioned labor unions...

[Answer] Indeed, this question should be fully elucidated. Nowhere in the world are there labor unions of police. Only in a few countries do they operate among the so-called contract employees. The latter can be unionized, but appointed officers are civil servants, and nowhere in the world do they have their own labor unions. We, on the other hand, have no contract militiamen or SB officers. Our political adversaries carefully ignored those circumstances. They also ignored the fact that in the Ministry of Internal Affairs there have always been labor unions of civilian employees.

[Question] Many comrades are convinced that the duration of their last tour of duty should be counted double...

[Answer] This would indicate some exceptional difficulties during the last tour of duty. It is true, but as far as our apparatus is concerned, the work has always been most intensive. For the last 2 or 3 years we had, indeed, to organize more frequent information meetings, to explain many political issues, to expose many rumors. The recurrence of arguing certain problems and [convening] meetings has indeed been greater. It should, however, be kept in mind that here party discipline is identical with service discipline and with shaping duty postures. I do not think we should treat the last term as a period of greatly enhanced activity. Even leaving aside the political situation in the country, the political adversary, the one abroad, never lets us forget about him. Ideological subversion is always present,

and is always targeted, above all, against our apparatus. On the contrary, due to more intensive activity the latest term appears to have been shorter.

Our party influence is further enhanced by the efficient operation of the new political-educational apparatus within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and by initiatives undertaken by our chiefs of service. It could hardly be imagined otherwise. Secretaries of party organizations serve as partners of unit commanders, capable of assisting them in solving various problems involved in interhuman relations, shaping up discipline, and everything else that contributes to the so-called operativeness of the service.

[Question] There are things the KD is satisfied with, and others it has to leave to its successors...

[Answer] Our satisfaction is rooted in the fact that thanks to the work of the party within our apparatus, and that of the chiefs of service, we have proven our mettle throughout all those, by no means the most easy, years and months. We have done a lot to establish a common educational front--we, the party, the chiefs of service, the political-educational apparatus, the youth organization; all those have been able to shape the officers' posture. The problem, however, will remain a live issue forever. During this term we have forged a system of ideological and training activity, adapted to our current needs. No doubt, it will be further improved. Permanent strengthening of party discipline remains necessary. During no term will this problem disappear from our agenda. There is an entire complex of social needs of officers, who stay on duty for more than 10 hours a day. Much remains to be done here. There is a growing group of retired officers, who should not be left to their own devices. There is the problem of the youth organization, which in our ministry should take over the care for all the younger officers, in order to turn each officer who graduates from the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] into a party member.

[Question] An officer who rides a trolley or a train with a 50 percent reduced fare is no myth. What, therefore, belongs to the mythology concerning the financial situation of MO and SB officers?

[Answer] An officer who rides a train for a reduced fare is, indeed, no myth, because--like every civil servant--that is his right. In streetcars, however, only uniformed officers, on duty only, are entitled to a free ride. All the rest, including cafeterias where we pay just the same as everybody else, apartments for which we wait just as long as everybody else, and other similar perks, belong to the mythology. The problem was extensively discussed by Brig Gen Stanislaw Zaczekowski, vice minister of Internal Affairs, in his interview in TRYBUNA LUDU. Every prospective employee who meets the basic standards can be acquainted with such special "privileges." In the name of all the staff of our ministry, I would like to point out that we regard our duties as one of many services to society. And like all social structures, we, too, believe that we are entitled to respect for officer duty. Without popular support and cooperation we cannot discharge our duties properly. In all its forms, this expresses acceptance and understanding of our role. As a party organization, we, too, try to

penetrate different milieus in the broadest possible way. Groups of our lecturers, for instance, are active both in the Central Committee and in provincial committees. We convene community meetings which provoke a lot of interest, for instance with groups of teachers. We also hold series of meetings with younger people. They contribute to our mutual understanding.

Militia, SB Chief on Duties

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 11 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with MO Brigadier General Bronislaw Moczowski, chief of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Lodz, by Henryk Zawira: "A Goal Worthy of Great Sacrifice"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, after the lifting of martial law, a totally new social situation has emerged in Poland; new regulations were enacted concerning the work of the militia and SB, formulated in the law on the office of the minister of Internal Affairs. How, under those new circumstances, do the MO bodies conceive the chances of fulfilling their duty concerning order, education, social work, as well as all the others dealt with in the new law?

[Answer] The present circumstances--subsequent to the lifting of martial law--are unlike those we encountered both before the imposition of martial law and after its introduction. I would like to point out, however, that despite the lifting of the law, some components of social condition have survived that period of time. We still have fresh in mind the moments when prestige of the militia was literally trampled down, destroyed, weakened in every possible way. We also have fresh in mind some incidents of hampering and preventing the arrest of people guilty of blatant crimes and misdemeanors, who violated public order in our city. There were such incidents in the very heart of the city--on Piotrkowska Street, Kilinski Street, Wolnosc Square, as well as in other neighborhoods. The anarchy inculcated in many people by the irresponsible Solidarity activists has left traces in the society, still not obliterated; they continue to render militia operations more difficult, hamper the progress of normalization, and delay the process of adapting the state of security to current social requirements.

We have entered the path of stabilization with considerable accomplishments in the domain of social and economic life. In the field of law, order, and social discipline we have considerable achievements, too. The day martial law was lifted, the situation was very different from the one in which we had to operate under martial law. Even people who before December 1981, and even after that date, were carried away by a wave of euphoria and participated in various disturbances and protests, which--as is well known--brought no good to the society, have abandoned their troublemaking activities as a result of our appeals, admonishments, and sometimes even restrictions, as well as of a broad spectrum of educational measures.

I would like to add that the militia, in addition to its order-keeping duties, discharges some educational functions as well. It uses many

humanitarian devices to deal with truants, with people on the brink of criminality. We applied such measures under martial law, and now we have recourse to them even more often. After all, whoever infringes on the law becomes a burden not only to us, but--to put it in a generalized way--to the society. Behavior reprehensible to the law is damaging to one's family as well, to one's workplace, to the community he lives in. We try to make people aware of all this.

At present, the militia has no easy job, even though I have to admit that we are steadily gaining more and more understanding, and allies who support our activity. I have in mind various social organizations, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], the MO Voluntary Reserves [ORMO], as well as plain people who wish to live in peace, to achieve and to enjoy their achievements. They hope to protect their loved ones from perils and troubles.

We receive a lot of sympathetic support from party committees at all levels; they spare us no advice, but also no constructive criticism, which allows us to draw proper conclusions for our work. Our goal is to restore all that had been good and useful in our operations, but was abandoned due to the total war waged against the forces of order in the period preceding the introduction of martial law. Those [accomplishments] included our educational activities, as well as those which prevent crime. We would like, therefore, to pay more attention to our dealings with difficult, unadjusted youth, with people who hover on the brink of criminality. We are going to extend our care for adults, including those who have frequently suffered punishment for crimes once committed. We continue to arrange warning and prophylactic talks with them, which in many cases prevent them from committing harmful acts. Such activity--in particular under the existing circumstances--seems the most appropriate, and should be broadly expanded. Let me add that [it should be pursued] not only by the militia and SB organs, but also by other institutions, such as the state administration and the economic management, social and youth organizations, and democratic institutions, such as house or neighborhood committees. Everybody will find there a wide range of activity. We believe that such actions can further reduce, for instance, the rate of criminality all over our province, improve discipline in our society, and enhance compliance with the enacted standards and rules of law. To sum up, we assume that the present period of overcoming our profound crisis requires creative, positive and organized work, not troublemaking.

The implementation of such duties obviously requires steadily growing cooperation and increased support on the part of the population. They support us. We are grateful for their support.

I would like to use this opportunity to express gratitude to all those who act in such a manner. I receive many letters from citizens, from plain people, inhabitants of our city and our province. We do not ignore any of these letters. Each one is carefully read and studied. We would like to find a definite solution to each one. This might take time. There cannot always be the immediate reaction expected by the writers, but I would like to assure all of them that a reaction will come. It might be delayed, but

the militia cannot act hastily. It has to research the problem, to check the facts, in order to avoid unjustified repression of anyone. The correct repression and the correct measures applied must be well balanced and justified.

Whatever people suggest to us is of utmost significance for the quality of militia work. That is why we frequent meetings with various milieus, social groups, work forces. We listen carefully to what those people have to say. Whenever motions are submitted, we meticulously make note of them, analyze them and apply them in our work.

I think that the inhabitants of Lodz and the province have noticed the different style of work in our units, the fact that whatever we do, we act in the interest of society, to protect and to safeguard every citizen, that we do all we can to make people's lives peaceful. But let me make it clear: the militia alone--with no popular involvement--is not capable of doing everything. That is why, for instance, we greatly appreciate the participation of the city and province population in the great "Order" campaign.

This campaign, which covered all the localities throughout the province, was not a statistical operation only. Thanks to it, we have acquired vast knowledge of people, of various circles and milieus. Today we find it easier to talk to different people, and to influence their behaviour conforming to the law.

In our everyday work we apply not only the knowledge drawn from this campaign. We are also assisted by information acquired during preliminary inquiries and investigations, as well as by the vast experience of our officers in all the services, by both their general and professional education. I would like to stress forcefully that we intend to do everything right, in accordance with experience acquired not only on duty, but also thanks to the training our people get in the various higher schools all over the country. And our goal consists of eradicating criminal menace, of achieving a situation which would reduce similar perils.

[Question] Comrade General, we have talked mainly about this generally less known duty of the militia and SB, about their educational impact on the society. The new law, however, imposes on you other duties as well, involved in direct maintenance of order. I would say more: this law has increased the demands.

[Answer] The new law, which is already in force and provides for establishing offices of internal affairs, has made many tasks which involve the militia easier to implement. At the same time, however, it renders us responsible for the involvement of the militia and SB in actions concerned with public order, in shaping it, in applying all the legally available measures to fulfill those duties. In addition to their educational tasks, the MO and SB organs are obliged to fight with all severity against all criminal acts, as well as against acts which might breed crime. They are obliged to fight against unlawful behavior in the streets and in public places. Our society deserves peace in the city, people should be safe to

go and to return from work, youth should be free to attend schools and universities peacefully. We will strive for it with all our energy.

[Question] How is the MO and SB apparatus prepared to accomplish those difficult tasks?

[Answer] We have cadres well prepared to fulfill those duties; they understand their tasks properly and as a rule properly implement the instructions of their superiors. That is why those people operate all over the city and the province in such a deliberate way to restore order and eliminate certain negative phenomena.

MO and SB officers are people who live among us, who were born here, have been educated here, and they share all the everyday concerns of the population. After all, they have their families, their children, friends and acquaintances. Perhaps that is the reason they are so deeply committed to defusing certain social phenomena, and not acerbating conflicts. They often do it at a cost to themselves, at the cost of their leisure, their family life, at the cost of all that is shared by average employees in an office or an industrial workplace.

Our cadres have a lot to do. They do not count their working hours, they often encounter many troubles on the part of people unfavorable to us. Nonetheless, they never give up, because their goal--the social order--is worth their great dedication.

[Interviewer] In the name of the GLOS ROBOTNICZY readership, I thank you for the interview.

SB Official on New Law

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 3 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Stanislaw Pietruszka, deputy head of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Lodz, by Jolanta Bogdanska: "To Avoid Last Resorts"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In July the Sejm passed a law on the office of the minister of Internal Affairs, and on the range of activities of its subordinate bodies. As well known, the law had introduced new titles for local authorities. What else is new in it?

[Answer] Indeed, the titles of our local authorities have been adapted to the name of the central organ, but that was not all. To start with, it has uniformized the range of problems those authorities have to deal with. The intention was, on the one hand, to smooth the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and, on the other hand, to speed up the treatment of all the [problems] citizens and institutions address to those authorities. Actually, the law has considerably enhanced the significance of the ministry as a whole. Most of the functions discharged by it up till then (previously defined by internal regulations) have now been legally arranged, and all this

contributed to a more uniform structure for the ministry. Previously, for instance, the militia department was exclusively identified with maintaining order; since July, however, it has become clear that its scope is much broader.

The law, moreover, was necessary because the legal acts previously in force, which used to define the duties and the powers of the minister of internal affairs were over 30 years old, and many of their aspects became incomplete, partially out of date, and unsuited to present needs.

[Question] Let us deal for a while with the powers. The law gave legal sanction to some powers of officers of the SB and MO. They have the right, for instance, to order body searches and to check luggage. Under what circumstances?

[Answer] Our officers have always had that right, but with no such precisely defined legal authority. Sometimes that led to various misunderstandings. Citizens frequently complained that their personal freedom had been violated, without realizing that the situation demanded it.

There are many such circumstances; suffice it to name a few most typical. Thus, for instance, persons are asked for identification if there is a justified suspicion they have committed a crime, i.e., they had been found at the site of a crime or nearby. The same applies to people suspected of abetting a criminal. Anybody who carries, for instance, suspicious looking luggage and attempts to escape when officers are sighted will be asked for an ID. There is no need even to mention all those who take part in disturbing peace, law and order.

I would also like to point out that we always carefully try to use all the means of coercion--and they include identification, too--in strict accordance with the law, even when it comes to people who threaten public security or are suspected of doing so.

[Question] Under particular circumstances, officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are always equipped with the so-called means of direct coercion. What are those means, and when can they be used?

[Answer] From the popular point of view, that is the most significant question. It was right that the means of direct coercion (that is to say, means which serve to impose behavior conforming to the law) were accorded the rank of law, and that for two reasons. First of all, people should know about various kinds of such means and the rule of their employment from the DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], and not from more or less trustworthy hearsay stories. In the second place, it enhances the social awareness of ensuring that the organs entitled to use those powers act in accordance with the law.

According to the law, SB and MO officers use rubber truncheons, hurled projectiles, and other means of subduing "in case state security is threatened, public order disturbed and instructions issued by SB and MO organs not followed." If it comes out that such measures are not sufficient,

firearms can be used. The law lists a number of circumstances when this is allowed. So, for instance, firearms can be employed in case of attempted killing of an officer or of a third party, attempts against state facilities or major public utilities, as well as against socialized property of considerable value; also, if a person suspected of being armed behaves in a manner which indicates he intends to use the weapon and ignores a call to throw it away. Another case: a chase after a person suspected of having committed a dangerous crime, in particular an act of terror, espionage, diversion, homicide, or armed assault. Finally, during an attempted violation of state frontiers, or in case of attempted escape by a dangerous criminal.

[Question] The granting of the rank of law to rules of employment of means of direct coercion is probably important to officers themselves, because under such circumstances they will be more convinced than before that they were acting in accord with the law...

[Answer] That is probably right. But I would like to point out once again that we attach the utmost importance to ensuring that firearms are always employed in accordance with the law. Our officers are meticulously trained in this domain, and subsequently tested. It should be also mentioned that the use of firearms serves exclusively to catch criminals and bring them to justice, and not for meting punishment. Firearms should be employed in a way which minimizes damage. If there is even a shadow of doubt whether we are indeed dealing with a dangerous criminal, employment of firearms should be renounced. And one thing more: firearms are the last resort, which we strive to avoid at all costs.

[Question] It is probably too early to talk about the impact of the new law on the state of order and public security. But could you say a few words about the rate of criminality in our province?

[Answer] That, too, is a complex problem, because this year there have been particularly many factors which have had an impact on the state of order and public security. The most significant among them is the broadly conceived sociopolitical and economic situation, which to a large extent has, after all, shaped popular postures. Generally speaking, the rate and structure of criminality are determined by long-term trends and tendencies which occur in the domain of law violation.

Altogether, during the first 8 months of this year, 174 more crimes were committed than in the same period last year. Common criminality increased by 2.6 per cent; especially troublesome for us were homicides committed as a result of emotional conflicts, sex and assault. In such cases people try to supply us with many tips and information, most valuable for us.

In general, it should be stated that during this period the general sense of security and respect for law were up. Social discipline has also improved, there is more calm in public places in the city and throughout the province. Robberies, for instance, were down by 16 percent, but among negative phenomena one might list the continuing upward trend in theft of socialized property, in economic criminality and in speculation.

The national economy suffers serious losses due to criminal activity, as well as to carelessness and negligence on the part of various bodies responsible for the protection of common property. During the last 8 months 496 perpetrators were indicted. In cases involving a loss of 100,000 zlotys or more, assets worth 44 million zlotys were impounded. Assets worth over 7 million were recovered. In nearly 45 percent of assaults the victims were intoxicated, and in over 50 percent of assaults perpetrators were persons who neither worked nor studied. This group has a particular record of criminal routine and the best organized action, since the majority consists of habitual offenders.

At present the MO organs pay most attention to exposing and fighting those offenders who disorganize the market and harm the economy.

[Question] And finally: what does the preventive activity of the militia look like?

[Answer] It is extensive and manifold. We pay a lot of attention, for instance, to the fight against illicit manufacture of spirits, and to crimes connected with speculative trading in alcohol. We also attempt to influence those families which are negligent in providing children with proper conditions of care and education.

We cooperate with various social institutions and organizations in early reconnaissance of pathological environment. We have held thousands of talks with people liable to commit crime, in order to dissuade them from their socially harmful intentions.

Not without significance are our campaigns to maintain a state of security and order on the highways. This year, throughout our province, there were 1,145 traffic accidents; 44 people were killed, 1,448 wounded. Many troublesome situations are caused by highway users themselves, since they lack discipline. Thanks to militia operations, 1,164 drivers acting under the influence of alcohol were apprehended, even when they were not involved in any collisions or accidents.

The campaigns managed by our organs under the codewords "Possession," "Order," "Peace," "Mustang," "Semaphore," et al are also a proof of our preventive activity.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview. We wish you all the best on the approaching jubilee, the 39th anniversary of the establishment of your organs.

SB Official on Security

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Colonel Jozef Dolak, head of the Voivodship Office of the Internal Affairs in Kielce: "The MO and SB Day: Serving the Society"]

[Text] MO and SB officers keep watch over security, serving the society as a whole. Such is the supreme

motto of our activities. That is how we shape the posture of our officers, and such are the demands set to us by our superiors at all levels. I think that, generally speaking, officers of both our services implement their tasks properly, with dedication, not counting overtime, or work done on legal holidays. In recent years such commitment was extremely necessary. An acute political struggle was being fought in our country.

Lately, however, the rise of criminality rooted in political motivation clearly dropped. I can state with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of people who engaged in the past in this kind of activity have understood their mistakes and now try to prove that it stemmed not from real hostility to the legal order and the socialist system in our country, but resulted from lack of sufficient political orientation, from youthful exuberance and impatience, or, finally, from uncritical submission to the influence of pigheaded, incorrigible enemies of the people's state.

However, a small--and increasingly isolated in society--group of people still survives; they understood nothing and learned nothing, and for them the clock of history stopped on 12 December 1981. It is they who still attempt to make trouble, to call for actions that disturb public order, and to undermine the credibility of the authorities. To accomplish this, they distribute antistate leaflets, encourage painting of hostile slogans and graffiti, slander representatives of party and state authorities, or call for strikes and malicious slowdowns.

Such activities, however, go unheeded and are practically ignored both by the work force and by the remaining part of the population. I might only add that all the initiatives targeted against state security will be--as before--effectively paralyzed by SB and MO officers in accordance with the criminal legislation in force in People's Poland. With the progressing sociopolitical stability, the state of security and public order in Kielce Province is gradually improving, though still too slowly in relation to popular expectations. All in all, during the first 8 months of this year we have been advised of 7,718 crimes; criminal proceedings were instigated against 4,165 suspects. The prosecution organs have temporarily detained 797 perpetrators. Our statistics register a drop in number of crimes committed, such as homicides, burglary of socialized property, theft of private and socialized property. Participation of minors in criminal activity has also fallen. However, as concerns crimes such as assault and robbery, armed extortion, burglary of private property, fight and assault, body injuries, traffic violation, fire and arson, a certain degree of increased vulnerability has been registered.

Not solely our services have been disturbed by the increased number of road accidents (by 103), especially since the results of such accidents were often fatal. No less than 37 people were killed in accidents, while 862 were wounded.

It might perhaps be worthwhile to note that during the first 8 months of the year financial loss suffered by private and socialized property due to

criminal activity amounted to 275,891,530 zlotys. The rate of detection remained unchanged in relation to last year, and that is far from satisfactory. We shall consistently strive toward systematic improvement of results accomplished in this extremely important field of our activity.

The occurrence of many factors and circumstances which favor violation of legal rules, in particular or criminal law, should raise general anxiety. I have in mind, above all, the so-called criminogenic phenomena, as well as those involved in social pathology. They appear to various degrees, and with changing intensity, and include alcoholism, social parasitism, corruption of minors, drug addiction, prostitution, as well as contempt for legal rules, cunning, craving for easy money, etc. The fight against such occurrences demands determined, consistent, preventive and repressive acts on the part of our authorities. Their effectiveness, however, is safeguarded and obviously conditioned by the broad popular support of MO officers, in particular by the support of social and local authorities, by organizations of youth, teachers, and educators, and by all the citizens committed to the ideals of law and order in the state. I would like to express my warm appreciation for their effective assistance in enhancing security and public order.

Today, as never before, all available means should be used to restore respect for law and standards of social coexistence. The present relaxation of social discipline is, after all, reflected also in some negative forms of behavior in workplaces, on highways, in neighborly relationships, even within the family. Counteracting such negative occurrences is, therefore, our common civic duty.

Increasingly good results in this domain are being achieved by the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] committees and by some local self-management bodies. Despite certain improvement, the necessary social activity in this field has not yet met with broad support.

To improve the effects of their preventive measures, MO units have waged, and continue to wage, large-scale operations aimed at protecting consumer interests and combating speculation, safeguarding railway transport, maintaining order on highways and in rail or bus stations, as well as better cleaning up in towns and villages. Our preventive operations have one essential goal: to eliminate occurrences which breed crime, to prevent some people from violating the law, and to abolish irregularities which trouble the life of the population. It is an activity difficult to quantify, not always visible, but its effects have a major impact on the society and on the proper functioning of the legal order.

From those summarily described elementary problems of operation by organs of security and public order, as well as the real range and scope of negative phenomena we have to neutralize, prove that in the near future all our efforts should be concentrated on the following problems: continued fight against the political adversary to maintain state security and internal order; consistent restriction or elimination of economic and common criminality, especially of the kind that directly intrudes on our system, vitality and health—as well as on socialized and private property and the people

of security among the population; more effective eradication of all occurrences of social pathology; providing highway security, as well as common order and normal, human calm in towns and villages. Those are our basic targets, but not the only ones. In telling the inhabitants of Kielce Province about them, I would like to express at the same time, my well-founded expectation of support and assistance for our efforts, in our common interest. After all, all of us wish to live and work in peace, for our own and our country's good.

For their performance on duty and for their proper treatment of citizens, as well as for other significant accomplishments, SB and MO officers are not only rewarded by awards and commendations from their superiors; they also gain trust, sympathy, and often the gratitude of individuals as well. That has been proven, inter alia, by thankful letters addressed to the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Kielce and to local units from people and institutions to whom our assistance has proven effective and had facilitated the solution of some difficult problems, or prevented serious dangers.

There are also cases of violation of service regulations or of behavior unworthy of an officer, sometimes violating the rules of criminal law. Those guilty of such behavior are punished with all severity and consistency. Thus, 174 officers have been disciplined this year; against 5 of them criminal proceedings have been instituted. The principle of all citizens being equal before the law includes--obviously--officers of our apparatus as well.

It should, however, be pointed out that legal standards also provide special protection for officers who, because of their duties, are prone to various perils. Thus, over the last year, we have registered 50 cases of active assault and bodily injury against militiamen. Political enemies assail SB and MO officers also by means of gossip, insinuation, and charges invented for specific purposes. The aim of such acts is clear: they aim at undermining popular trust in officers, at provoking hatred towards them. It becomes then easier to manipulate sentiments, to debase the respect of law, to promote anarchy.

Our officers are immune to such accusations, they maintain high service discipline in their work, they act under the supervision of responsible bodies and of the population, they are convinced that their tasks are performed correctly.

Confronting social needs and tightening our links with the population, we continue to streamline the operation of our units by amending our organizational structures, titles and the legal definitions of our specific powers. This target has been served by the 14 July 1983 law on the office of the minister of internal affairs and on the range of activity of its subordinated bodies. It aims at making our serving of social interests the most effective, to achieve the most desirable results.

At this opportunity I would like to express my deep gratitude for cooperation and for understanding our problems, and to thank all members of ORM0,

social and self-management organizations, institutions and associations, as well as all the citizens who regard security, law and order in the Kielce region as their supreme and sacred value, put under protection of all the population.

To mark the 39th anniversary of founding of MO and SB bodies, I would also like to convey my warm regards to all officers, retirees and pensioners of the MO and SB, to their families and friends, and to wish them ever better accomplishments in their difficult and responsible duty, as well as successes in their private lives.

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POST-13TH PLENUM DISCUSSIONS DESCRIBED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 257, 29-30 Oct 83 pp 3, 4

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "The Supreme Duty of the Party: Always In the Forefront, Always Among People"]

[Text] Two weeks have passed since the debates of the 13th Plenum. During this period Central Committee members have met with thousands of people, sharing with them their immediate impressions. Many basic party organizations convened meetings in order to deliberate on their tasks which ensue from the plenum decisions. Several voivodship committees have met to argue their problems. The Politburo passed--as has been usual for quite a while--a mandatory schedule for implementation by the entire party of the decisions made at that plenary session. Its carefully prepared results were thus transmitted to the country, to party members, to the population.

How Far Have We Travelled

The first secretary of the Central Committee, summing up the debate, said that today the struggle for the future of the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and for the speed and range of socialist renewal of the life of the nation and of the state, is waged to a large extent within the social consciousness. It is a sharp, tough fight, the more complex, since at present this consciousness is, after all, exceptionally differentiated; consisting of many basically different layers, it is frequently exposed to various, often contradictory inspirations. Had we considered such occurrences [as appearing] solely outside the party rank and file, and ignored or underestimated those inside ourselves, we would succumb to cocksure mirages. There were no such deceptive sentiments in the plenary debate, and there were none in the echo of the plenum which has reverberated inside the party.

The resolution of the 13th Plenum on the ideological tasks of the party covers a broad range of problems. In a more detailed way, it defines that part of the program of the Ninth Congress which dealt with the impact of the party on opinions, postures, and systems of current assessment of the situation and of selected moral values. The 13th Plenum was also an attempt to provide a

Marxist solution to such questions as: where are we, as a national community, now?; how great a part of the road to socialism have we already travelled--as concerns productive relationships, class and stratum structure, methods of government and self-management, ways of arranging our common existence?; what conclusions should we draw from the experience acquired, both good and bad, in order to follow this road correctly? Similar sentiments have been voiced in the debates held within the party after the plenum, even though such problems, set up in more detail, transposed to the scale of narrower milieus, sometimes translated into the language of local observations or current concerns, have not always been called by their proper name.

During those debates a lot has been said about the party itself, the more so since the problems of the 13th Plenum are naturally intertwined with the reports-election campaign which has just started; and that bids us to review scrupulously this part of our common party road, which each basic organization and each committee have passed since the congress. This has been a period of an accelerated process of maturation for the cadres and the rank and file, of enormous changes in the consciousness which were taking place just under the toughest circumstances of the great ordeal. Let us repeat, with justified pride, that the Ninth Congress saved the leninist character of the party. All those who remember will know that it was by no means easy. But the great victory won by the congress did not, by itself, erase with a magic wand all the waverings and whirlings, did not miraculously heal all the earlier perplexities, doubts, and anxieties. The party statutes, which define the organizational framework of party life, and the program, which outlines its ideological shape, have become the mandatory signposts for the party's renewal. This period of time--it is over 2 years by now--abounded in trials that mercilessly tested people and party bodies. Obviously, the assay has proven to be positive, as demonstrated by the present condition of the overwhelming majority of party organizations.

In the Forefront, but Not Alone

But, still, very much remains to be done yet in order to achieve in fact the vanguard character of the party. Here organizational efforts are important, indeed the most important, but the results are at the same time a sequel to the state of consciousness. This sequel is of priceless value: ideological unity, which merges the independent thought the party needs, the quest for daring solutions, as well as differences of opinion, contestations, and arguments, with a uniform understanding of the supreme class goals of socialism. The organizational cohesion of the party is another sequel to the state of consciousness: discipline in action, the ability to accept decisions, integrity in implementing tasks--all this can hardly be accomplished without comprehending in the name of what one surrenders to the party some of one's individual freedom.

A party, ideologically united and organizationally cohesive, can claim to be a vanguard only when--as becomes a vanguard--it leads all the remaining troops above all, its own working class, all the toilers, and, finally, the nation. If those troops are too scarce, one can explain it away in different ways: by their immaturity, for instance, the evil legacy of history, the

strong pressure of the political adversary inside the country or abroad. That, however, changes nothing and explains nothing. To be a vanguard means, after all, one thing only: to be always in the forefront, never to act alone.

The real range of the impact of the party, of the influence of a party organization on its environment, the ascendancy of party members over people around them--such has been the subject of discussion in the party for quite a while, even though, perhaps, not in identical terms, and the 13th Plenum has considerably sharpened it. The dilemma, by no means new and affecting not our party alone, many times argued even by Lenin, can be reduced to two threats: losing touch with the grassroots in the name of vanguardism, or surrendering the leading role in the name of safeguarding the links to the masses. Which one is the most dangerous? As always, the one that in a concrete time and place surfaces with greater force.

The social credibility profoundly undermined in the second half of the previous decade, and the ideological impact of the political adversary which in recent years has preyed on it, as well as the difficulties of the crisis era which have laid a heavy burden on the working people's shoulders, are the objective factors which push some party activists, in particular among the working class, to capitulate to the surrounding moods, to succumb to them in order not to lose touch with the grassroots, not to remain solitary in an empty space. But it happens the other way around, too. The unquestionably positive development of the political situation inside the country, the progressive isolation of the opposition, and the gradual improvement of the economic situation breed among some cadres impetuosity and the wish to speed up the pace without caring whether anybody follows. The concern for the link with the grassroots is as necessary for the party--provided it does not degenerate into total subjection--as the determination of the pace of change--provided it is not reduced to revolutionary rhetoric alone.

Class Reflected in the Party Program

The historical and ideological substance of the existence of the party consists of leading the working class towards the implementation of a system free of exploitation and social injustice. To accomplish this, the working class has to find in the party program its own reflection, its aspirations, an identity with its ideals of liberated labor and life in justice. The program of the Ninth Congress satisfied these needs to a considerable degree; were it otherwise, the fate of Poland would have indeed taken a different, tragic turn. Time passes, and amid resistance and trouble the program is being implemented, even though perhaps more slowly than all of us had hoped for. The reasons, including the international conditions, can be easily pointed out at any party schooling session, in a lecturer's presentation, or in a newspaper article.

But what does that change in a situation where a worker does indeed get higher wages but his wife feels no tangible relief in her household budget, the economic reform is still incapable of enforcing more efficient organization of production, racketeering and speculation have not yet been vanquished...

Reality is merciless, and there are objective reasons why it is as it is, and not otherwise. Subjectively, these reasons are being deepened by ineptitude, dishonesty, and sloth.

To prevent a situation in which, once again, the working class would indeed find its reflection in the party program, but would not be able to recognize itself in its implementation, the party has to take its place, openly and publicly, at the forefront of the dissatisfaction of its class with all that slows down the implementation of such a program. The brakes do not exist solely in Reagan's policy, in worldwide shortages of raw materials, in the deficiencies of legal regulations or their lack of consistency. They also exist in what real people and groups do, or desist from doing, in the workplace, in the countryside, in towns and villages. Each party organization or committee which loses heart in its own bailiwick, accepts quibbling at its face value or approves sluggishness, undermines the party capability to lead the working class. Here and there it might even happen that one has to suffer a momentary defeat in a confrontation; such a defeat will win the party more workers' respect than "victorious" obliviousness to evil. This problem, too, has been more sharply outlined in the light of the 13th Plenum.

From the fact, fundamental to Marxism, that it is the interest of the working class that determines the essence of socialism, it by no means follows that the image each worker, or each work force, has concerning its best interests is to be identified with socialist principles. Moreover, the presently actual interest of one group of workers might, and sometimes does, positively clash with similar interests of other workers' groups. The vanguard character of the party consists also of perceiving such complexities and explaining them to the interested parties, of having the courage--if need be--to prevent the particularist, parochial dissatisfaction of one group or another. How numerous are the workplace secretaries and party cadres who have to submit, day in and day out, to similar trials, not always necessarily victorious. Very many among them would openly admit that they are acquiring this capability, that they are gaining experience, that they are still learning to look further and wider. There is nothing shameful about it, since almost all of them closely resemble other workers, who not infrequently feel these same narrow and passing interests to be as deeply as possible.

This ability to look further and wider, often gained with the utmost effort, in an inner struggle, means precisely the acquisition of party consciousness. The last plenum has supplied many incentives which should induce the activists of the party's ideological front to look for such means of propagating Marxist knowledge which would provide rational support to the process of approaching this consciousness.

Old Consciousness Offers Resistance

Marxism-Leninism conceives the implantation of a new consciousness in the grassroots, including the working class, as one of the fundamental goals of a revolutionary party. This does not happen, and cannot happen, without resistance on the part of the old consciousness. It occurs in spite of it, because the old consciousness is supported by its own ideological carriers who resort to various means, even at the cost of its partial nullification.

In our society the old consciousness is still very strongly embedded; numerous and complex reasons, both historical and contemporary ones, contribute to this. When all is said and done, given the entire general changeability of the world, consciousness changes the most slowly; this has been demonstrated by previous epochs as well. And since the party as the vanguard cannot escape its duty to impart new consciousness to the masses, it must--as the 13th Plenum explicitly pointed out--accept battle on this place as well.

The plenum has also defined the main adversaries in this struggle; they can be paralyzed above all by exposure. In our society the differentiation of political opinions is very great, even leaving momentarily aside the extent to which some of those opinions are emotionally superficial and devoid of deeper motivation. It is hard to imagine their speedy uniformization, or even considerable rapprochement. There is, however, a limit of systemic security, which within the actual balance of world powers is also a limit of national security. That is why there can be no withdrawal from the struggle against political views which infringe on the constitutional principles and Poland's international alliances; their carriers and advocates must be mercilessly exposed. A citizen who argues in favor of the Polish-Soviet alliance by invoking, honestly and convincingly, geopolitical reasons alone is not a political adversary, even though in our party obviously there should be no people who reason in such a manner. But anyone who, using whatever arguments, inculcates anti-Sovietism in popular consciousness is such an adversary.

The pluralism of world views in our society is obvious; it includes a very broad spectrum of the Catholic world view again leaving aside the assessment of its fundamental depth. After all, we have believers in the party itself, and there is no reason we should close our eyes to it. The road to the secularization of our society is still a very long one, but we have a secular state and secular state educational institutions, schools, etc. This systemic reality has to be acknowledged by all the citizens of this state, without exception. And anyone who goes beyond this limit, who abuses religious sentiments in order to maintain obscurantist and reactionary consciousness, or militant and arrogant clericalism, must be exposed, also for the good of the clearly conceived freedom of conscience for the believers.

The matter of ethical consciousness, of a system of moral values, is very complex; it is shaped by politics, by world view, by environmental tradition, and by standards of life. Conforming to the ideology of our party, we strive to propagate the conviction that for mankind "to be" is more important than "to have," that common welfare takes precedence over private interest, that human labor is the supreme dignity. But thousands of people live among us and for them ownership is superior to personality, private interests take the prime place, and prestige depends not on work but on a well stacked purse. Were they less numerous, we probably might have overcome the crisis with greater speed. But at present we are waging the most desperate war not against them--since changes in consciousness take time--but against those among them who violate the limits of the admissible. Whoever satisfies his selfish aspirations by infringing on the law and the accepted rules of public

life, whoever corrupts, propagates demoralization and parasitism by bribery or favoritism, fully deserves to be put out of action, because he is, at the same time, the carrier and the sower of the old consciousness rooted in a different systemic formation, hostile to socialism.

Such guidelines for our struggle for social consciousness have also, among many others, been set up by the 13th Plenum. It has clearly pointed out that the frontline which will decide the future fate of the socialist renewal runs here.

12485

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COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES CULTURAL POLICY GOALS

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 48-52

[Article by Jerzy Ladyka: "A Few Observations on Culture and Cultural Policy"]

[Text] The socialist community multiplies and universalizes situations in which, ever more clearly in all areas of life, we must have manifestations of the presence of active people with a high degree of knowledge, who are morally sensitive, capable of intellectual independence, accustomed to relating their decisions to a sense of responsibility, and imbued with the humanistic principles of socialist ideology.

Considering the problem in another aspect, we can say that socialism, in point of fact, requires the manifestation of the ideological activity of people as conscious creators who shape their fate and the world. The progress to ever higher and more mature stages of socialist society occurs through accumulation of new qualities in the thinking and attitudes of individuals who, by their presence, define the nature and course of the historical process. In this process, a crucial role is played by culture. The latter develops on the basis of the material conditions of people's life; moreover, it becomes a factor which has an active influence on the soil from which it grows. Thus, its role in socialism is an important one and must be appreciated.

From the moment of the seizure of power by the working class in Poland, problems of cultural development have been included among the most important tasks of the program of socialist construction. The party is indeed interested in the intensification of the ideological and educational process which makes it possible ever more fully to include the awareness of individuals, the motivation of their actions and their life style in the sphere of the implementation of socialist values.

One of the main tasks facing the organizers of social life as well as all the working people, from the beginning of the existence of People's Poland, has consisted in eliminating the disproportion between the degree of culture and the latter's democratism. Another no less crucial task, which has been made increasingly important by the development and transformation of our country, consists in preventing a disproportion between the widening scope of the dissemination of culture and the level of the latter.

Under conditions of an antagonistic class culture, these disproportions are, in essence, irremovable contradictions and represent a basic premise in the harmonious development of social life. Critical studies of development of culture in highly developed capitalist countries demonstrate that general cultural development is not accompanied by a proportional development of these areas of culture which do not perform direct use functions but are regarded as autonomous values. It is true, in the situation of the development of mass media in these countries, that a process of expanding participation in culture is occurring in many social strata. But we must not forget that under conditions of absolute predominance of commercial-type private institutions, this process is occurring at a low level of cultural values, and is dominated by trashy entertainment.

Of major importance [in a capitalist society] is trite content or content which either is contrary to the aspiration to rationalize and humanize inter-human relations, or directly aids the manipulations and propaganda of the ruling class. Namely, there is propagation, on the one hand, together with a deceptive image of capitalist reality, of various forms of anticommunism and racism, irrationalism, nihilism, or else degenerated eroticism, and, on the other hand, a cult of wealth acquisition, of egotism, ruthlessness, and cruelty. Moreover, we observe the phenomenon that the higher the level of cultural content which is transmitted through the mass media is, the narrower is the social range of reception as defined by the level of education. And this is a widely diversified phenomenon, which results from class division in the social structure of capitalism. We can regard either as a myth or a delusion--at best--the statement that a capitalist and a worker in the latter's plant can enjoy cultural values in the same manner.

Mechanisms of commercialism in capitalism favor largely both the development of simply utilitarian culture and the popularization of trite and insipid content, which evolves in a direction that is a negation of the very essence of culture. These mechanisms represent, at the same time, a factor that hampers the propagation and eventual development of cultural content, which has crucial influence on man's intellectual, social, and moral values. This disproportion is of an objective character and can be eliminated only under socialism.

However, this disproportion does not automatically disappear from focus at the moment of completion of the basic socialist transformations, the elimination of the basic premises of inequality in the social sphere, including education. The sharpness and perceptibility of these situations decrease, but this is not tantamount to the creation of conditions which prevent the possibility of their emergence. Such conditions are created--in a way, always anew--during the course of the development of socialist relationships, through a sum total of social and economic processes, including an appropriate cultural policy, which should consider the vital interests and aspirations of the working class, of the working people, deriving the theoretical principles of its long-range interpretation from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

A socialist society is interested in the full and universal flourishing of culture--first, in consideration of directly useful and practical objectives which treat cultural content and advancement as indispensable for the implementation of other types of objectives; second, in consideration of autonomous values of culture. This is manifested in a situation which is natural in our system, where people are interested in raising the level of culture not only for practical reasons but also because of the conviction that enrichment of man's intellectual, esthetic, and moral experience is a sufficient reason for these efforts.

Basic socialist reforms eliminate the sources of class antagonisms; they open up the perspective of implementation of the slogan of universal participation of people of all social classes in culture. One of the first tasks of cultural policy in People's Poland, starting with the elimination of illiteracy, was the creation of conditions which would make accessible to wide strata of working people the achievements of a progressive national and universal culture.

A dynamic, broadly implemented program of development of education, knowledge, and science has had a considerable impact on the form of the social awareness of our whole nation. It has released the intellectual and emotional activeness of people in all areas of our social life. It has contributed to reinforcing the conviction about the correctness of the socialist direction of Poland's development. These processes have been complex, uneven, and not free of temporary failures. The causes of them have been rooted both outside the sphere of culture and within the scope of the latter. But all this does not justify general negative evaluations, in whose distorted mirror a period of definite cultural progress is interpreted slanderously as a period of regression. Let us also turn our attention to the fact that many elements of justified criticism of [cultural] neglect are derived from a new scale of social needs and aspirations, from a qualitatively new level of interest in cultural values.

In this perspective, the experience of socialist construction indicates that socioeconomic and educational achievements are accompanied by the ever-increasing growth and importance of the need to develop culture in view of the latter's function of raising man's spiritual values and satisfying man's loftier needs. This is an essential element of the systemic superiority of socialism. The quality of people's life in the new system can and should be, indeed, determined not only by a high level of technological civilization but also by the increasing level and ever greater accessibility of cultural content, which has a basic influence on the shape of individual and collective attitudes and on the nature of interhuman relations as well as on the life of our entire society.

What is a duty is also a potential opportunity, because in socialism there exist potential premises for preventing irregularities in the development of culture in its various functions. There are--in other words--real chances to raise, in the development of culture, the level of those aspects of cultural content which have an autonomous value and are absorbed by people from the viewpoint of their personal needs, unselfishly.

What are, then, these premises and chances? In socialism, the working class, which represents all the working people and performs the role of the manager and creator of economic progress, is at the same time a force which determines progress in the area of culture. No commercial considerations compel it to make restrictions or "negative selection" in the development of any areas of culture. On the contrary, the workers' aspirations are guided by the principles of humanism, by the approval of the social vision of scientific socialism, where the demand for a social revolution is derived from, among other things, a concern to save man from a life which is deprived of cultural values; the other guiding principle is a striving to fulfill a person's own aspirations of spiritual development and to negate the "dirty worker" stereotype.

Trends toward the development of autonomous cultural values are favored in a socialist society also by the process of secularization. In the course of this process, religious values are replaced by cultural values which are helpful in the search for an in-depth, active answer to questions concerning the goal and meaning of human existence. In particular, the development and dissemination of empirical knowledge and scientific thinking create premises for directing human activeness toward transforming reality in accordance with ever-changing needs. We see the emergence of conditions which favor conscious activeness of working people. Their talents, interests, and dreams can be implemented in a real world, in the course of activities which do not require irrational justification. Also, in the present period of painful difficulties in everyday life and in the area of consumer goods supply, there has been no decrease in problems which are rooted in human interests, desires, and expectations, and which become a reality in the area of higher values--ideological, intellectual, esthetic, and moral ones.

Such, in a nutshell, is the presentation of the problem of the real premises for preventing irregularities in the development of culture under conditions of socialism. On the basis of these objective conditions, which are created not without difficulties, the party's cultural policy is implemented. Thus, it is based on a premise which has been confirmed by practice, namely, that the level of culture should rise along with the expansion of the influence of cultural values. This, in turn, results in concerns and actions which aim at improving the system of universalization of cultural values, at creating conditions which favor a vigorous intellectual and artistic movement, in the course of which are born works which transform their individual scope into general [cultural] content which in turn enhances our social awareness.

The essential principles of cultural policy are not concerned with esthetics but with the ideological stratum. We have relegated to the past any attempts to impose a formula which subordinates artistic reality to political demands, to impose one model of esthetic patterns, of means of artistic expression, and of culture in general. Recognition of the right to choose an artistic language, creation of conditions for open discussion, of an atmosphere of mutual respect and tolerance for other artistic currents and diverse artistic imagination, represent a permanent basic principle of PZPR

cultural policy. But within this diversity, of great importance is the ideological attitude of creative artists, as well as their intellectual values, their moral sense of responsibility and their relationship with socialist ideology and reality. They have the duty to speak the truth about life, and not to lose the perspective of socialist development in their creative activity, although the former is not running smoothly. They have the duty to become involved in the problems of vital truths of people who have linked their fate with the shaping of the new order, and to help them, by critically reevaluating common thinking, in a more profound analysis of the meaning of socialist humanism. Thus, they have the duty to include in the sphere of social awareness the content of considerations which favor the development of attitudes which follow the line that will make the socialist ideal come true.

This problem can be studied more closely if we take, as an example, literary creativity, which represents an important component of culture. Literature has a peculiar keen and deep insight into the sphere of human life. It expands imagination, integrates awareness and emotions around specific trends and quests of human thought. Therefore, the premises of the party's cultural policy envision the need to stimulate and invigorate a reflection which will be useful in affirming the main, profoundly conceived premises of socialist ideology in literary creativity. Its effects reach recipients in a multiplied fashion; they reach far beyond the circles of theatrical readers and spectators. Literary creativity represents, for example, a sizable portion of works which are presented by film and television, broadcast over the radio, and expressed in song. All in all, we are dealing with an unprecedented scope of reception of literature, unlike the past. Along with it, the role of literature in society's life is increasing. Also increasing, together with it, is the responsibility of creative artists for the ideological and moral content which they propagate in their works. The wider the scope of the perception of literary creativity is, and the broader, in general, the scope of social participation in culture is, the greater is the burden of the social duties of writers and critics as well as their intermediaries and the recipient.

Contemporary culture is a field for combat and for clash of ideological-type values. The process of the creation of contemporary cultural values by a socialist society, and by all the progressive forces which represent the interests of the working people, requires opposition to [cultural] content which is put into circulation by forces of imperialism in the name of egotistic class interests or else which serves the schemes of regressive forces in our country.

The battlefield in this area is of an international dimension, but a definite front line runs in our country, where antisocialist groups exist. Supplied and supported by subversive centers which represent the interests of imperialism, they utilize the area of culture for their objectives of political struggle and counterrevolution. Our culture is not a homogeneous one. Polish cultural tradition includes achievements of fertile rationalist and civic thought, and achievements of actions and struggles which were carried out in the name of social justice and of guaranteeing [Poland] an

an independent existence as a state. But, besides, it includes also an obscure content which derives its existence from all kinds of irrationalism, which is hostile to social progress, and which is characterized by national megalomania and xenophobia, tending toward anarchism and propagating cosmopolitan mirages of the West. Antisocialist groups, in their obstinacy, return to precisely these elements.

The party, while inspiring the creation of a new socialist culture, is cutting itself off from its past conservative elements and from reactionary contemporary [cultural] content. In the struggle and clash between diverse cultural values, the future victory of socialist culture is assured. It is a culture that includes the achievements of the past in the formation of thinking and creativity which are determined by the interests of the working people, by the universal principles of scientific socialism and by the universal ideals of humanism. It is a culture which combines efforts to know the world rationally, and to liberate man from the shackles of ignorance, with efforts to protect him from social injustice and to provide him with conditions for universal development.

Culture influences, often in a crucial manner, the shaping of human attitudes; and, indeed, a change of attitudes is tantamount to a transformation of reality. The direction of these transformations is determined by the party--and this is the most important justification for its leading role in the cultural development of Polish society.

9577

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PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIONS NOTED

New Law Affects Rural Self-Government

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 28 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by W. Chelchowski: "Continued Deliberation: On Rural Self-government" passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The new decree of 20 July 83 on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government provides new greater opportunities for action by rural self-government. The organs of the self-government of rural inhabitants are, pursuant to the decree: the village meeting (as the superior body) and the council and the village head. The village meeting may also appoint other special self-government organs and entrust specific tasks to them.

The village meeting elects the head council and the village head and adopts resolutions concerning: the plan for using village lands, public order, maintenance of village roads, allocation of funds at the village's disposal and public drives. The meeting presents to the gmina [parish] people's council proposals on matters which transcend the scope of its possibilities, makes an annual evaluation of the performance of the village head, and issues opinions on matters relating to the development and functioning of the trade and services network, transport and health-care and educational institutions. It decides on the utilization of social services funds, organizes social activities to meet the common needs of the inhabitants and opines on drafts of the gmina's socio-economic plan.

The gmina people's council may entrust for consideration (decision upon) to the organs of village self-government specific matters belonging within its scope of competences.

During the 1980-1982 period 7,326 village meetings took place in the [Olsztyn] province, meaning an average of 2.5 meetings per village each year. This average is composed of 6 meetings per year in the villages of Nidzica Gmina, 5 in the villages of Ilawa Gmina, 4 in the villages of Lidzbark Warminski Gmina and barely 1 per village per year in several other gminas. It is also worth noting that quite a few village meetings take place not on local initiative by the head council or the village head but upon the initiative of the gmina office, the gmina cooperative board, the District Dairy Cooperative or another institution, most often one that handles crop procurement contracts.

Many of these meetings are of a briefing nature, appearing to be expressly organized in order to allot tasks and duties regarding various fields of socio-economic life to rural inhabitants. /There occur too few genuine rural meetings that are properly organized by the village aktiv and analyze vital rural problems and issues through direct discussion with the participation of competent representatives of the gmina people's council (GRN), the gmina office or other institutions depending on the topics discussed./

The meetings should culminate in adopting an appropriate resolution, recommendations or opinions. In the context of the tasks to be fulfilled by a village meeting, the role of and indispensable need for good preparatory work by the village council become explicit. The status of councils of this kind has been regulated by a decree for the first time since 1945: the decree of 20 July 1983 introduces the duty of the election of village councils by the village meeting.

The principal duties of the village council include: convening the village meeting, drafting its by-laws and resolutions, presenting to the village meeting initiatives to promote the participation of inhabitants in solving the problems of the village and implementing the tasks falling to it, and organizing and monitoring the implementation of the resolutions of the village meeting. The council should cooperate with the organs of other self-governments and public organizations operating in the village, in order to assure implementing the tasks of local self-government and the socio-economic development of the village. The village meeting may empower the village council to present opinions and recommendations on matters within the competence of the meeting during the periods in between the meetings and to act as a permanent committee for public drives.

The village council is chaired by the village head. The institution of the village head has a very long and rich tradition. At present our village heads enjoy great trust and deserved authority. They represent their villages, but they also implement the state-administrative tasks entrusted to them by provisions of the law.

Jan Wilk, the head of Krolikowo Village, when asked whether he feels more a representative of his village than a representative of the authorities, answered: "I feel that I represent them both equally."

The village meeting may also elect someone other than the village head to the post of chairman of the village council. In some villages this may even be more advantageous to the work of the village council.

A vital aspect of self-government activities is the availability of own funds for implementing specific tasks. Rural self-government is in the fortunate situation of having an assured source of at least part of these funds. I refer here to the Decree No 202 of 14 September 1981 of the Council of Ministers, which places revenues from the Fund for the Development of Agriculture at the disposal of villages. During the 1982-1983 period these revenues totalled about 200 million zlotys in Olsztyn Province. /So far, not too many villages have yet begun to utilize these funds for joint projects improving agricultural production and improve living conditions of the population. Other sources of income to rural self-government may also include...

donations by inhabitants, organizations and plants as well as income from projects organized by the self-government./

A tried and tested means of resolving many issues is the organization of public drives. Their scope has declined in the Olsztyn countryside to 37 million zlotys in 1982 from 81.7 million in 1980. Rural self-governments will, of a certainty, interest themselves in this domain of social action as well.

/As I have been trying to show in some ways, the new decree of 20 July of this year, concerning self-government of rural inhabitants in Olsztyn Province has appeared in a climate that is already quite well prepared for it. The hugeness of the tasks facing our countryside favors a systematic and democratically conducted strengthening of self-government by means of more frequent and better-organized village meetings, the election of additional village councils and the strengthening of their status as well as improvements in the work of village heads.

Renewal of Self-Government

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 11 Oct 83 p 1, 2

[Article by (tur): "Self-Government is Something We All Must Re-Learn: Meeting of Delegates at WARSKI Shipyard"]

[Text] /IN SEPTEMBER OF 1981 the Provisional Workers' Council was established at the WARSKI Shipyard. Once decrees on the enterprise and workers' self-government were issued, the council began to work on the statute and electoral procedures. appropriate to the new laws. At the same time, it conducted extensive work on a report on the shipyard's condition, the fields requiring priority, etc./ [printed in boldface]

When the work of the self-government began to be resumed following its suspension, several months had to be devoted to mutual reconciliation of views and surmounting of the numerous barriers that had been formed by conflicting views, opinions and attitudes voiced.

The elections took place in two stages: the first stage in April and the complementary stage in June. They were held in 23 election districts and conducted with the participation of 57.4 percent of the potential voters. A total of 119 delegates were elected along with a 23-member workers' council.

Yesterday the first general meeting of delegates to the shipyard workers' self-government took place in the main lounge of WARSKI. The formation of self-government organs at the shipyard was first described by Lech Majewski, chairman of the workers' council. He also described the issues on which the council has been working so far as well as its functioning within the system of the socio-political organizations at the plant.

Lech Majewski declared: "Self-government is something we all have to re-learn."

This first lesson in self-government, too, was not held without disputes and conflicts in views culminating in the drafting of a compromise position. This concerned the question of increasing the wage fund in the draft 1984-1985 plan submitted to the delegates for discussion.

In the adopted resolution the delegates accepted the presented assumptions of the shipyard's 2-year plan. It provides for, among other things, completing 15 vessels next years, of which 12 will be for export and 3 for domestic shipowners. For 1985 17 ships are expected to be sold, of which 13 for export and 4 for domestic shipowners. These tasks will not be easy to accomplish in view of the superposed crisis situations of world shipping and in the country. Thus, considerable flexibility and many perhaps unorthodox moves will be needed to cope with them.

Thus, for example, to assure an adequate front of operations to the supply departments and a good growth rate of sales next year, six hulls of B-92 supply-delivery tugboats will be built at the Gdynia Shipyard imienia Paris Commune. What is more, in view of the extensive personnel shortages (especially at the hull and maintenance shops) the possibility of importing manpower from abroad is being considered at the shipyard.

There are many problems relating to the operation of the plant under the present unstable conditions. They were defined by, among others, the workers' council in its opinion concerning the adopted plan. The delegates believe that the recommendations and proposals contained in that opinion should be accepted by the shipyard management for implementation as a multi-stage task. Issues of concern to the K-1 Department were presented in its behalf by the department's delegate Sylwester Szymanek, who discussed, among other things, the need to develop an incentive wage system. Comments by other delegates indicate that they want to become more familiar with matters on which they are supposed to decide. This has already been anticipated earlier by the shipyard's general director, Stanislaw Ozimek, who proposed periodic meetings between the plant management and the self-government delegates at which the latter would be provided with complete information on the enterprise's economic situation and answers to their doubts and questions.

During the meeting, the delegates approved the statute of the self-government and the revised electoral regulations.

New System of Workers' Self-Government

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 11 Oct 83 pp 3

[Article by Wojciech Zurawski: "If You Don't Fulfill the Plan You'll Earn Less: Workers' Self-Government Accepts the New System But Not Unqualifiedly"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Without copper there will be no power, mining and telephone cable. The dilemma of whether it is more profitable to sell raw copper or to process it in Poland into finished products and only then sell them to Western customers still has not been resolved. I admit that the underutilization of productive capacities at mine plants appears surprising. In Krakow in 1979 a total of 36,000 tons of copper was processed, whereas last year only 23,000 tons were.

This dispute about the form of exports appears to concern a more practical issue than it might seem. The point is that we get paid immediately in foreign exchange for pure electrolytic copper on the London exchange, whereas it takes 3 months to receive payment for cable products. In commodity barter we not infrequently receive many attractive raw materials, including crude oil or other cable products. The final balance sheet always turns out to be on the plus side.

The Krakow Cable and Cable Machinery Plant copes fairly well with its plans despite its raw-material and manpower problems. So far, individual departments have kept complaining about lack of manpower, considerable losses of raw materials and poor maintenance of machinery. When the possibilities for increasing output without having to hire additional workers were considered, the idea of reforming the wage system was conceived. Already last year, as part of a plant-wide experiment, supplementary wages for plan fulfillment began to be paid out of the director's contingency fund. When this year it turned out that economic requirements dictate expanding output, it was decided to consider refining the wage system. Once it became clear in mid-year that there would be no shortages of raw materials on the whole, and that there would be no stoppages of machinery, the following assumptions were presented to the workforce: /The incentive system is based on the principle that all production departments have complete freedom in setting up and dividing their remuneration funds. Targets for the entire enterprise are specified in advance and subsequently allocated among the departments. Once a month the department head signs a contract with the director. Plan-related accounts are settled once every 30 days according to three basic criteria:/ labor-intensiveness at the department, rather than value of output; conservation of materials; and adherence to quality standards. /Profits are correspondingly calculated. The fulfillment of the plan-set targets warrants payment of wages in accordance with the contract, while their overfulfillment warrants payment of extra wages and underfulfillment results in reducing the disbursable funds./

In the 2 months since the introduction of the new wage system a rise in productivity has been recorded. For this year the premise is that the plant's volume of the processing of copper and other raw materials will increase markedly while at the same time the workforce will increase only minimally (in 1982 it averaged 3,000 persons, compared with 2,970 this year), while at the same time labor productivity in terms of labor-intensiveness will increase by 18 percent. But even now a 25-percent rise in labor productivity appears realistic. For a better utilization of the plant's potential, it was decided to sell products with a greater input of labor and higher degree of processing. This is of great importance, because materials-intensiveness averages 82-84 percent. Any reduction in this indicator yields profits to the firm.

For this year a preliminary allocation of 24,500 tons of copper has been made to the plant. Owing to the new wage system, complaints about manpower shortages and objective difficulties have ceased. Troubles bring no profits that can be divided among the workforce. But /he is mistaken who thinks that the changes introduced have been accepted by all and represent the best way out of the situation. Once the preparatory stage was reached, the self-government began to consult discrete plant departments. The opinions were uniform. The new system began to operate as of 1 August of this year, and already within the first month many workers made their views known to the Self-Government. This concerns chiefly the persons employed in the auxiliary depart

ments./ Those employed in direct production departments began to exceed the plan markedly and thus automatically forced the auxiliary services, transport, etc. to work harder, with the former earning much more and the latter no extra pay. The issue was considered and the monthly norms were also adapted to the other departments. As of 1 September, the new incentive system was extended to the other departments.

The Self-Government accepted these measures and continues to gather the related information. The assumptions are that the new changes will be maintained until year-end. It is a great pity that as of the present, in mid-October, the enterprise's assumptions for next year still are not known. After all, organizational solutions cannot be planned from one month to another. If the current system is continued, unforeseen perturbations may arise. Comments reported to the Self-Government indicate that, for example, designers are paid less than an uneducated young man who, once he gets trained for his job, works directly in production. /In the short run, the incentive stimulus is very good, because it amortizes the results of labor. Higher productivity means higher wages. But this excludes those whose performance cannot be measured in terms of meters, tons, or thousands of dollars or zlotys./ It is highly significant that the workforce itself is aware of certain flaws in the present approach to the matter. Eventual changes will be feasible after a few months. But people cannot be suddenly told that productivity and quality in themselves are unimportant. Once we accustom them to good work and the standards set are gradually raised, it is important to exploit this healthy enthusiasm. The role of the Self-Government in this matter is incommensurately important. On the one hand, the pressure of the groups to which the new system applies is considerable but on the other hand the remainder of the workforce cannot be forgotten.

On observing the amenability of the management and workforce of the Krakow Cable Plant to various changes and the exploration of new organizational-production solutions, it appears possible to find a compromise solution such that productivity would increase and everyone would feel a participant in deciding on the enterprise's fate.

The enterprise management is exploring various solutions to the problem of expanding output. It has recently, for example, signed a preliminary agreement with the Cable Factory in Novy Sad, Yugoslavia. We will receive pre-processed mining cable and in exchange supply products which we have in excess. Mutual turnover will amount to US\$6 million dollars of exports and US\$6 million dollars of imports, or altogether US\$12 million dollars. What is important here is that both countries, neither of which has much "ready" cash, are able to obtain scarce products on each other's domestic markets owing to mutual contacts.

Production for export at the Krakow Plant accounts for 17-18 percent of its output of processed products. Sales total about 1.5 billion zlotys. Libya, Iran and Nigeria, among countries of II payments area [capitalist] and the Soviet Union among the CEMA countries are the principal buyers of our cable products. The exports would be more profitable were it not for the continual increases in the prices of raw materials and other components on the domestic market. All taxes, surcharges and fees are included in the cost and the exchange rate for the American dollar is rigid, so that we are becoming less and less competitive. Unless steps are taken to make our offers more attractive, we may be eliminated from many world markets.

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Development of Party Indoctrination

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Oct 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Wl. Kos.: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee: Party Work at the MALAPANEW Plant; Course of Party Training"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Yesterday's traveling session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Party Committee at the MALAPANEW Iron and Steel Plant in Ozimek dealt with evaluating the performance of that plant's party organization--the largest in Opole Province. Prior to discussing the material prepared by the Province Committee's Political-Organizational Department, the members of the Province Committee's Executive Board toured some of the plant's production departments and met with the executive boards of the department party organizations. The PZPR party organization at the plant has 1,528 members and 50 candidate members grouped in 28 branch party organizations (OOP). The socio-political situation in the last 2 years has been complex and difficult. The unfavorable course of events in the country, the intra-plant production and supply problems, the difficult working conditions, the marked personnel shortages and the deepening divisions among the workforce have been the principal factors influencing the mood and evolution of attitudes among the employees. In view of its large workforce and important place in the national economy, the plant has become a site of an acute political struggle. Under these conditions, the activities of the PZPR Plant Committee and the leading party aktiv were focused on arresting the process of the party's disintegration. The consistently conducted political-enlightening work has been intended to provide every assistance to basic and branch party organizations and party members in regaining political strength and their niche in the plant's social structures. Statutory duties have been resolutely implemented, many individual talks have been conducted, and disciplinary actions have been taken. During the final stage of the martial law period and following its suspension, the party continued to regain its strength and expand its influence. Many party members enjoying great authority gained the support of non-party members in the new elections to the worker council and the board of the nascent trade unions. Many act as officers of the executive bodies of these organizations. Of major importance to regaining public trust in the party have been the activities of the plant party committee, especially during the martial law period, intended to improve working conditions, safety and hygiene at labor, social services and living conditions. Issues relating to

working conditions, the depreciation of machinery and equipment and shortages of spare parts--in addition to the inadequate market supplies of staple foodstuffs in the city--continue to be the principal topics of the critical comments expressed by the plant's employees.

In the lively discussion which did not lack critical accents, and in which the plant management also took the floor, the Executive Board of the Province Committee evaluated positively the whole of the party's activities at the plant. The plant party committee has during its day-by-day work succeeded in raising issues crucial to the workforce and the operation of the plant. The principal emphasis was placed on solving the most difficult problems in the political, social and economic spheres; providing the political and organizational conditions for the development of the trade-union movement and worker self-government; taking steps to popularize and apply the economic reform, taking an active part in drafting plant conservation and anti-inflation programs and pursuing an appropriate cadre policy. Side by side with these positive effects, party work also displays certain shortcomings: the performance of the branch party organizations is inconsistent; party groups are insufficiently active; and there is a lack of an elaborated concept of broadly conceived ideological and indoctrination work among party members and the workforce. The resolution adopted toward the end of the discussion of this item on the agenda contains specific critical comments and recommendations for the work of the plant party organization at the iron and steel plant. The Executive Board of the Province Committee has expressed to the entire workforce of the MALAPANEW Iron and Steel Plant in Ozimek its cordial acknowledgment and thanks for accomplishing extremely favorable production results this year.

The course of mass party indoctrination during the 1982/1983 training year can be considered satisfactory. The postulated practical and organizational goals were achieved, although not entirely. The aktiv and members of party organizations have become somewhat more interested in ideological problems. Nearly 2,200 of the 2,903 POPs operating on the area of Opole Province have reported that they are conducting indoctrination work. Nearly all the numerically small basic party organizations (POP) in the countryside have abandoned holding ideological meetings. On the other hand, the ideological-training activities of party organizations at large work establishments have been sporadic. The organizations reporting on the conduct of indoctrination courses have held at least one ideological meeting each. The party organizations active at various kinds of educational and enlightenment institutions and smaller industrial and agricultural enterprises have been regularly conducting indoctrination meetings. Evaluating the mass party indoctrination during the past party training year, the Executive Board of the Province Committee found that a still sizable part of the party aktiv and members continues to display lack of understanding and conviction as regards the permanent and indispensable role played by ideological indoctrination as an element of daily party work.

On the basis of the experiences gained during the 1982/1983 party training year and the comments reported by basic-level echelons, the Executive Board of the Province Committee recommended that every POP and OOP designate a party indoctrination organizer from among the members of its executive board. Basic-level echelons as well as Regional Party Work Centers should engage in systematic work with the indoctrination organizers, on holding periodic instruction seminars or conferences. The Executive Board has moreover placed

the Regional Party Work Centers (ROPP) and city-gmina party committees under the obligation of developing an effective system for assistance to and monitoring of indoctrination at the POPs. ROPP and basic-level party echelons should pay special attention to the ideological-indoctrination activities pursued by large plant party organizations.

Kielce Plenum on Basic Party Organizations

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 83 pp 1,2,4

[Collection of articles: "The Work of Basic Party Organizations is Decisive to the Party's Strength and Effectiveness: Plenum of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee With the Participation of Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo Member, Central Committee Secretary"]

[Text] The evaluation of the condition of the party in the province and the determination of tasks for basic party organizations and party echelons with the object of consolidating the ranks of the PZPR were the topics of yesterday's deliberations of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee.

The session was attended by members of the presidiums of the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP) and the Province Audit Commission, as well as by the members of central party authorities representing organizations of Kielce Province. The participants also included first secretaries of local and plant party echelons as well as a group of POP [basic party organization] secretaries from selected enterprises and villages, members of the Province Committee's Intra-Party Commission and directors of regional centers of party work and Province Committee departments. Also present were Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and Jerzy Wojcik, deputy head of the Central Committee's Cadre Department.

Inaugurating the session, Maciej Lubczynski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Province Committee, stressed that the province party echelon was once again, following the 9th Congress, going to discuss intra-party problems. This is necessary, because in the process of the ongoing normalization the priority tasks fall to the party. To cope with these tasks, the work of the PZPR organizations and echelons must attain an ever higher level and organizational efficiency. In the very near future, in accordance with the statute, a reports-election campaign will begin within the party. The secretary further declared that today's deliberations thus represent the stage of the assessment of our strength and an occasion for preparing for this politically important event.

The report of the Province Committee's Executive Board on "Assessment of the Party's Condition in Kielce Province and the Tasks for Party Echelons and Organizations as Regards the Further Consolidation of the Party's Ranks" was presented by Marian Surma, Province Committee secretary. Its highlights will be presented on p 4 of this newspaper.

Twenty persons took part in the discussion. Their comments also are published on p 4 of this newspaper.

During the debate, the representatives of the Starachowice Truck Plant (FSC) handed to the first secretary of the Province Committee and to the Kielce

Province Governor a report stating that their plant has commenced the production of diesel engines. That report states, among other things: /"The plant party organization and management of the Truck Factory in Starachowice report that, as of 1 October 1983, the series production of diesel engines has been commenced. This is our contribution to the cause of leading the country out of the crisis, and our participation in the festivities honoring the 35th anniversary of the union of the worker movement."/

Next, Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor. Highlights of his speech are published below.

The Province Committee adopted a resolution specifying the tasks of basic party organizations and echelons and intended to consolidate their cohesion and strength.

Taking the floor toward the end of the deliberations, Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Province Committee, declared that the party in Kielce Province, cooperating with the society, is capable of implementing most difficult tasks. The production results being currently achieved at the plants, the spreading trade-union movement and the growing consolidation of workforce self-governments all demonstrate an improvement in the region's social atmosphere. In preparing for the reports-elections campaign, we should be aware of what the party has gone through in the last 3 years. But while conducting this important political work, the other domains of party action should not be overlooked.

/On the eve of the 39th anniversary of establishment of the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service and the 40th anniversary of the People's Polish Army, the first secretary thanked on behalf of the Province Committee all functionaries, servicemen and officers for their exemplary service to the fatherland. He also conveyed to the uniformed personnel best wishes for a successful professional and personal life./

As regards organizational matters, the recommendations of the previous session were adopted for implementation. The plan of the Province Committee's Executive Board for the fourth quarter of this year also was accepted.

The deliberations ended with singing "The International."

The Party's Responsibility is a Great and Difficult Duty (Highlights of K. Barcikowski's Speech)

The proceedings of today's plenary session so far reveal how greatly needed the discussion of the intra-party situation has been. Being preoccupied in our daily work with various human, economic and social affairs, we overlook the party, the analysis of its ability to act, to maintain a permanent bond with working people. All that we want to accomplish in Poland and strive for we can achieve only through the party. The party's effectiveness and condition are decisive to the success of our undertakings. A more penetrating consideration of the party's problems is all the more needed inasmuch as we exercise the unusually responsible function of steering the ship of state, leading the nation.

Is the party aware of this responsibility and are its members conscious of the great mission being fulfilled by the party? We cannot always make them all aware of this and we tolerate relegating these matters to a secondary plane. But leading the nation is the essence of our party: this is not phrase-making. If we appreciate this role, we should pride ourselves on belonging to the PZPR and be aware of the obligations resting upon us. And yet, it still happens here and there that belonging to the party reduces to discussing the amount of dues payable by its members. Material matters are important, but if they overshadow the concept of party-mindedness, this means that we tolerate imposing on ourselves the surrogate discussion of secondary rather than truly significant issues.

At the same time, the political enemy denies our leading role, and in our own ranks there is a great deal of unawareness. I do not wish to discuss the past again, but we will not allow the 40 years of our accomplishments to be denied. What is more, even during the period of the economic crisis the party accomplished a historic feat in preventing Poland from becoming a Lebanon or an El Salvador. These countries are riven by dissension and devastated, providing an arena for conflict between opposed political forces. They suffer great losses in the absence of hope for a reasonable solution. Poland was to be turned into the Lebanon of the socialist bloc. This did not happen precisely thanks to the party, which stood up in the defense of our system of society, in the defense of the public and personal security of citizens, in the defense of peace in the state. Nowadays not everyone is willing to acknowledge this and we must make it clear ourselves and strive for the recognition of the validity of our reasons.

The party at present is different from the party prior to the 9th Congress as well as from the party during the martial law era. Its standing and authority are at times perhaps being regained more slowly than we might wish, but haste always makes waste. One has sometime to be patient, though without folding one's hands. By the will of the party we are rebuilding all pro-socialist social structures. We are great architects: we are building in the social space. The introduction of the martial law was followed by a vacuum. But now self-governments are arising (we are continually learning how to work with them), trade unions are forming (Kielce Province leads the country in the number of trade-union organizations) and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) is becoming more active.

We are taking many economic steps to surmount the crisis and strengthen our bond with the working people. But we still show too much timidity so far as influencing non-party members is concerned. Let us not fear talking with them. We have nothing to be ashamed of.

One of the discussants was right in stating that people are most upset by any manifestation of inefficiency and incompetence at offices of state administration as well as at enterprises and cooperative organizations. And yet it is precisely we who are capable of inducing these institutions to operate more efficiently. We must approach this matter very consistently rather than suddenly. It sometimes happens that when we are dealing with incompetence we refrain from taking more drastic steps, including personnel decisions. Unless discipline is tightened, we will not be able to force anyone to work properly. Appeals alone will accomplish nothing.

An interesting topic in the discussion was the condition of our party. The comments varied, because party organizations operate differently at plants, in the countryside and in schools. We stride in the vanguard and do not retreat as we used to, but there is still too much passiveness all around and not enough militancy of action. We should not passively await until the political enemy himself attacks us. We must anticipate his actions. Your comments also indicate that there is no schism, no deviationist tendencies in the party ranks. It is important that unity, unity in implementing party resolutions, reign within the party.

Just as important is ambition in initiating various public drives. We have to stimulate activism in people, propose civic deeds. Each and all together we should accomplish something good and useful. We will accomplish nothing by waiting.

The reports-elections campaign within the party is approaching. We will evaluate the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress. In this respect, too, we have nothing to be ashamed of. We will evaluate the accomplishments of not only the party as a whole but also every party organization. During the campaign we must uncover the causes of passiveness and specify tasks also for those who are passive and perhaps embittered. In order to make this campaign mature politically and socially, we must thoroughly evaluate the party leadership and oppose hasty appraisals. This also is why we initiated earlier a review of party cadres, so that all cadre decisions would be made deliberately upon thorough consideration of all factors. Respect and recognition should be bestowed primarily on all those who have been active in the forefront of the struggle during the last 3 years. Those were difficult years and they taught us much.

We are emerging from the most difficult period: work is easier, though still hard. We must also bear in mind that the international situation is getting worse. We must know what hopes are placed by imperialism in the so-called Polish affair. Poland was to be a divisive element within the socialist bloc, and these hopes have not at all expired in the West. The West is ready to do a great deal to nourish unrest and raise new barriers on the road to normalization so long as the crisis in Poland can be prolonged. We must always bear in mind the purpose of our tenacious struggle.

Discussion

Marek Kaczmarek, First Secretary of the City-Gmina Party Committee in Checiny:

The party is taking over the initiative. Its ranks are becoming consolidated and its ideological unity is being rebuilt. In Checiny Gmina most PZPR members are peasants and peasants-workers, of whom many commute to work in Kielce. Hence, full attendance of even general meetings is difficult. The PRON offers a platform for joint action of all gmina inhabitants. Owing to it, our contacts with the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) are becoming more frequent. We cooperate more actively with the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP). In the last 2 years 131 comrades left the party's ranks while at the same time we admitted 28 new members. These figures point to the need for improved party indoctrination. But we have problems in getting access to the works of the classics [of Marxism-Leninism] and some members are

unwilling to consult them. Even teachers, of whom 30 percent belong to the PZPR, are incompletely familiar with the principles of Marxism and Leninism, which of a certainty influences the upbringing of youth.

Stanislaw Grabski, Chairman of the Province Audit Commission:

When evaluating the whole of the performance of local and plant party echelons, comments were made concerning the weak activism of problem-oriented teams, the failure to submit for approval own plans of activity, and insufficient discipline and consistency in continuing ideological training and allotting party tasks.

The findings of the inspection of basic and branch party organizations and plant party committees indicate that the large number of program materials received from the higher echelons hampers integrating them in plans and implementing all the tasks ensuing from them. The inspection also uncovered the existence of POPs which are not preparing their own plans of work. The organization of meetings at grassroots party elements follows a nearly uniform schematic pattern: the materials are prepared and reported upon by the organization secretary, an outside activist, a member of the plant management. In no case are they prepared by teams of members. There exist POPs and OOPs which during the last 2 years held barely a few meetings (133 held from 1 to 6 meetings). Their attendance also varies, although it has been observed to improve with the exception of rural party organizations at which party discipline is far from perfect.

The assessments indicate that most party organizations approach very cautiously the problems of the party's quantitative growth. At many echelons and committees work on this matter is not comprised within any organizational form. The inspection revealed that ideological training has not been extended everywhere to members and candidate members. It is completely absent in 33 POPs and OOPs out of the organizations investigated. The overall conclusion is that at some POPs the problems of ideological indoctrination have not been considered important. In addition, recommending members and ZSMP circles were found to lack interest in the activities of the candidates they recommend. A large number of candidates with overdue seniority has been recorded!

Leszek Sitek, Plant Party Committee Secretary at the Technical Equipment Factory (FUT) in Suchedniow:

The plant party organization has nearly 140 members, of whom 50 percent are blue-collar workers. The principal tasks adopted by the plant party committee during its current term of office are: strengthening party discipline, conducting systematic ideological training, holding talks with the less active PZPR members and monitoring the implementation of quarterly plans of work. Another important issue was the participation of many party members in other organizations--the PRON, self-government and trade unions. Problems affecting the plant's economy also were worked on. Middle-level supervisors were evaluated, broader contacts with foremen were initiated, and the managerial cadre is going to be evaluated.

Waldemar Szczypciak, POP Secretary at the Group of Economics Schools in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski:

Fifty percent of teachers at the Group of Economics Schools are party members. This may be regarded as a plus, but not all are equally committed to activism within the POP. Some are PZPR members only at meetings and not in their daily lives. But this does not affect adversely the whole of the work of the party organization, which is influencing the teacher community. During a meeting of the Pedagogical Council, for example, the party organization evaluated the curriculum in civics instruction, initiated the establishment of a memorial chamber and proposed organizing a ZSMP school circle. Moreover, it is propagating among teachers and parents the need to bring up youth in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The factors weakening activism among teachers who are party members include the still weak faith in social justice, the feeling that the intelligentsia is being mistrusted and its problems are not appreciated by the party.

Jerzy Jaworski, deputy director for engineering, Starachowice Truck Plant:

Thirty-five years ago the first "Stars" rolled off the assembly line at the Starachowice Truck Plant (FSC). Recently the factory experienced a major crisis and in December 1982 it even faced the threat of having to discontinue production. It was short of, above all, diesel engines, and specifically of the aluminum engine housings imported from Hungary. In such a situation, the FSC undertook making cast-iron housings instead of relying on foreign exchange and exports. At a time when hostile Western and underground agencies agitated in favor of working at a snail's pace, FSC designers worked in cooperation with several domestic co-producers on the new engine housing. Seven months later, and specifically on 1 August of this year, the technological activation of a line for machining the new cast-iron housings took place. By 30 September of this year 506 modernized engines were built. As of 1 October of this year the factory has commenced manufacturing exclusively diesel-engined vehicles, thereby also discontinuing the production of the gasoline-engined Star 29.

Ignacy Drabik, Chairman of the Province Committee's Commission for Complaints and Reports From the Population:

This year the Province Committee's office for complaints and letters received 825 letters and 111 were received through the mediation of the Central Committee for consideration. A total of 1,335 persons making complaints and suggestions was received--300 more than last year. Two hundred and fifty anonymous letters (30 percent) were received. Thirty percent of the accusations they made were found to be valid. The largest number of complaints came from Kielce, Skarzysko, Ostrowiec, Starachowice, Busko, Bielitz and Daleszyce. Most often, they concerned personal problems. Only a few contained general comments on the situation in the country and province. Thirty-four percent of the complaints have so far been settled positively.

The largest number of grievances concerned agriculture and rural conditions, followed by complaints about housing and communal management, labor relationships, trade and the socialized sector. Eight percent of the letters concerned party activities: the attitudes of members and the work of local party organizations, and 6 percent dealt with the performance of local administration.

Waldemar Kowalski, First Secretary, Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski City Party Committee:

Nowadays the party secretary at a self-governing enterprise cannot recommend or give orders. Thus, an important role in implementing PZPR policy can be played by party groups associating comrades who belong to trade unions, worker self-governments and other social organizations. The party group, organized on the pattern of the already existing elements in people's councils or the Parliament, enables party members to influence the decisions taken by the enterprise management, self-government and plant trade-union boards. In this way, the party member will also be obligated to represent the party line. The party group also is a way of expanding the party aktiv and influencing non-party members more effectively.

Party members should respond more energetically to the manifestations of evil proliferating everywhere. During the coming reports-elections campaign those who proved themselves in the political struggle should be publicly acknowledged.

Wieslaw Oczkowicz, Member of the Province Committee's Executive Board, First Secretary of the Ksiaz Wielki Gmina Party Committee:

The party organizations in the countryside have purged themselves of the non-Ideological members. The remaining ranks consist of those who have linked their fate with the PZPR or better or worse. Even so, attendance at rural party meetings varies. The principal reason for the absences is urgent seasonal field work.

In our gmina we analyzed the pattern of distribution of party forces. The picture that emerged is not satisfactory. Members of the gmina party committee's executive board were assigned tasks of helping the weakest elements. It is also necessary to rebuild the party aktiv that could join in solving economic and social problems. A major issue in Ksiaz Wielki at present is the housing complex that has been standing unfinished for 4 years and whose completion is anxiously awaited.

Wojciech Skowlewiez, farmer of Bodzentyn Gmina:

I believe that the party still remains in the shadow of the changing reality; it has become extremely butter-fingered, fearing to offend anyone. It is simply that we still remain on the defensive. And yet the PZPR is the ruling party in Poland and exercises the leading role; it is a pity that, this is only just words, not deeds. Meanwhile, in the countryside cows cannot be milked and threshing has to be interrupted owing to electricity stoppages, and the "flippers" being turned off. During the harvest, housewives stand in the bread line for 3 or 4 hours. High-grade seeds are not provided during the sowing season. During the potato procurement period no sacks are to be had at the party cooperative. Barely a few tractors operate at the Agricultural cooperative circles (SKR). The peasant sees it all and curses the party, because it is the ruling party. But is the party to be blamed for it all? Certainly not. Yet party organizations are not energetic enough in solving the growing problems and dealing with persons who do not accomplish their tasks.

Andrzej Watek, First Secretary, Skarzysko-Kamienna City Party Committee:

The party is blamed for all negative aspects. Success, on the other hand, has most often other "fathers." At present the strength of the PZPR, which is active through its members at enterprises, institutions and various organizations, is insufficient to cope with the still existing cliques and arrangements as, e.g., in the cooperatives. We often witness how justice lags behind life.

Complaints are now being made about trade, services, health service, transport and communications. But the strength of party organizations in these sectors is low, with the proportion of party members being less than one-third that at industrial plants. Unless we grapple actively with evil, the trust being regained by the party will be credibility on clay feet. It is also worrisome that the so-called patchwork method still prevails in economic activities.

Leszek Wojslo, First Secretary, Racławice Gmina Party Committee:

In the past period 403 comrades have left our party organization. We thus had to disband three basic party organizations and consequently our possibilities for influencing the community became narrower. The recovery of strength by the party requires the mobilization and active work of all its members. The party can lead if it combats effectively injustice and improper forms of administration. Its activism cannot manifest itself solely in participation in meetings. Hence also we recommended to our organization that it review the tasks of party members and allot tasks to those comrades who did not have any previously. The tasks should be such that their implementation would produce tangible effects. The party organization will gain the community's trust only if it exerts a decisive influence on the solution of issues of concern to the community.

Ryszard Kulawik, OOP Secretary at the PRZEDM-MESKO Metal Works in Skarzysko-Kamienna:

Of the 109 employees of the quality control department where I work, 61 are party members, associated in six party action groups. In the past period our organization has lost neither its authority nor its trust within the community. This is demonstrated by the fact that not a single party member has surrendered his party card. The need to apply party penalties did not crop up. Yet during the past difficult period, too, the party organization at the plant had not lost its contact with people, with the workforce. At the time there were no ideological indoctrination programs; there were only actions dictated by needs. Now a growing indifference can be observed, but it is due to the troubles and problems of everyday life.

Włodzisław Górski, member of the Province Committee's Executive Board, Chairman of the Local Party Organization at the Jedrzejów City-Gmina Party Committee:

The Jedrzejów party organization in Jedrzejów has 1,925 members. A large part of them are young people. Unfortunately, their activities has been recently declining. The proper selection of leading cadres is of concern to the chairman. The efforts applied are passing the test, although it seems that some of the comrades holding posts in other parts are concerned more with administering than with the party.

At the city-gmina party committee we devote much attention to the formative process of trade unions, self-governments and PRON elements. Despite efforts, not all activities produce the results expected. We observe, for example, a decline in the activism of the PRON and the performance of the trade unions also is unsatisfactory.

Stanislaw Galazka, Chairman of the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP):

An important instrument of the party's action, performing an educational and disciplining function, as well as purging the party of unfit members, is the system of party verdicts. In September of this year the WKKP investigated the utilization of these statutory rights by more than 200 party organizations. During the years 1981-1983 most of the verdicts of the POPs concerned deletions from membership rolls. Many of the organizations took such decisions mechanically. Often the fact itself of the surrender of the party card by a member was sufficient cause for deleting him. Often, too, the decision to delete was taken without first having a talk with the person in question. But there were instances when, following such a talk, the person wishing to resign from the party withdrew his resignation. This year, too, many members left the party, with most being deleted from the membership rolls. Thus, unless preventive talks are held with party members in teams, the problem of resignations from the party will grow worse.

Recently we were reproached that only dishonest people are in the party. This is not proved by the number of indictments of PZPR members in the courts during the years 1981-1983. The number of such cases was insignificant. The persons against whom judicial proceedings were instituted had also been made accountable to the party.

To a small extent the POPs also availed themselves of their rights to mete out party penalties. Only 15 percent of all the POPs surveyed did avail themselves of these rights. Penalties are not being utilized as a means of education, attention is not being paid to assigning party tasks to the persons penalized, and it is not borne in mind that, following some years, the penalties are subject to revocation. The penalized individual is left to himself. The attention of basic party organizations and echelons should be drawn to these problems.

Wladyslaw Jelonek, Chairman of the MINES Cooperative in Skarzysko-Kamienna:

Recently the party has passed through a period of settling accounts. However, I differ with the view of the chairman of the Province Audit Commission concerning the weak activism of party organizations in the cooperatives on the grounds that they remain too much influenced by the management. Should a member of the management team feel ashamed of his activities in the party organization? After all, he does not cease to be a party member when he becomes a director. The role of the management in small work communities differs from that in large-industry communities. In the cooperatives, for example, the aktiv has to proceed differently and cannot focus on economic matters alone. The chairman or director of a small work community should engage in political activities, assist the party organization.

Roman Swiatek, member of the Presidium of the Province Party Control Commission:

Rebuilding the party's authority is a long process that requires years and effort. I am saying this because I have lived through all the rises and falls of the party that occurred in its history. There is hardly anyone who would claim that in 40 years we accomplished nothing. Everyone has accomplished something from the program of the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation. Those attacking us the hardest are those who contributed nothing to a better life. Mistakes in the party happened because in the 1970s we began to admit untested members. We could not rely on those who joined the party without any deeper reflection. Now, too, the situation at the rural party organizations is not good. There are too many initiating and monitoring comrades but no one is available to help the grassroots.

Andrzej Jagiela, First Secretary of the Plant Party Committee at the ZGM [expansion unknown] in Zebiec:

A turn to the better has recently taken place at the plant party organization. Awareness of the necessity of adhering to party discipline has grown. The initial fears about the future of the trade-union organization and self-government have receded as the workforce could become convinced that they are fully autonomous.

The present task of the plant party committee is to provide aid and inspiration to basic party organizations, because their activity represents the party's strength. The comrades at the grassroots level know best how to solve problems. Party members participate in everything that is happening at the plant. Thanks to this, the authority of the party organization is growing and its ranks are increasing. Since last June 12 new comrades were admitted, including 8 blue-collar workers, and 14 more are awaiting admission. This is a result of the acceptance of the party's actions in behalf of providing the chances for occupational advancement to workers at our plant.

Ryszard Zmarzly, First Secretary of the Wodzislaw Gmina Committee:

Some party members, especially the older ones, identify the party's leading role with unrestrained power such as can do anything. Yet the reality is different and political work in the countryside is difficult. Farmers are awaiting a more rapid improvement in living conditions, better supplies of manufactured goods. There is continuing discussion of the tax system, which gives preference to large farms emphasizing cash crops, which deepens the already considerable social differences in the countryside. Many basic party organizations in the countryside are not much active, but there are signs that are beginning to quicken. The question of dealing with persons outside the party whose behavior menaces the process of stabilization also has to be considered.

Wzyslaw Miodawski, Secretary of the Stuporkow City Party Committee:

Consolidation cannot be accomplished by a plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee alone. We cannot confine ourselves to outlining tasks. A fundamental question is how to implement tasks. In my view, the consolidation of the ranks of many party organizations has not yet begun. We must work to attract

over the fact that many party members, including functionaries, remain passive. Consolidation cannot be formal alone: it should denote a genuine uniting of membership. It cannot be utilized to suppress criticism, because then the old methods of action will return. Such a "consolidation" would strengthen the party only formally and for a short time.

Zdzisław Brzezinski, First Secretary of the Bieliny Gmina Party Committee:

The consequences of the events of recent years remain tangible to us to this day. There exist party organizations in which comrades to this day fear verbal attacks by former Solidarity activists; they dread commitment and avoid public appearances. The party's future will hinge on the commitment of its members. The party echelon devotes much attention to working with youth, but unfortunately the breakdown of the youth organization has weakened its activism. A period of hard work to develop and strengthen party ranks is awaiting us.

Highlights of the Report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee,
Presented by Province Committee Secretary Marian Surma:

We continue pondering the present status of the party, the tasks of promoting the consolidation of party ranks and the strengthening of the vanguard and class nature of the PZPR. The party nowadays is not the same as what it had been a year or two ago. We learned a lot in acute political struggle. The discipline of party organizations has improved and their commitment to solving socio-political and economic problems increased. However, we have not achieved the desired results in some fields.

Implementing the program of the 9th Congress under extremely difficult economic and political conditions, we realize that we are working in a period when no one will give us trust on credit. We have to earn that trust through a permanent dialogue with the society. We must consistently fight for the hearts and minds of people, for their activism.

Struggling for the creative effort of the entire society, we should primarily strengthen the ranks of our party. In party activity we must return to our ideological sources, think of the future. Many members of our province party organization have not yet drawn upon their entire energies. In order to change this situation, people should be made involved in the implementation of specific tasks and their knowledge and understanding of the party's aims should be deepened.

The class and vanguard nature of the party is, on the one hand, a behest for combatting all evil and struggling for socio-political and economic reforms and, on the other, a behest for resolutely opposing the attacks of the anti-socialist forces as well as of the forces of social anarchy. Strengthening the vanguard nature of the PZPR requires augmenting the share of workers and peasants in its ranks and among all authorities, assuring their authentic influence on program activities.

The party in Kielce Province has retained its worker-member core. In the second half of the period it has gained 1,902 new members. A definite majority of the newly admitted members are workers, of whom more than a half are young people up to 30 years of age. These days we do not expect queues of new

applicants, but we will admit those individuals who enter the party out of a deep ideological motivation. As the requirements to new members are increased, the party's image is changing.

We have a strong party primarily within the foci of the working class, in the principal work establishments. A high proportion of party members exists among elementary and supraelementary school teachers, farm workers and engineers and technicians. On the other hand, the numerical status of PZPR members and candidate members in the health service, among employees of trade and services and among university teachers and students has to be critically assessed. Such "white spots" also occur on the map of some of the villages of Kielce Province where so far no basic party organizations exist. Being aware that the struggle to make our action effective hinges on our influence among the working class, we must strive to win over all social forces, without neglecting party work in the countryside and among the intelligentsia and youth.

Positive changes occurred and will continue to occur in the PZPR as reflected in the greater tempering of its members and increased resistance to enemy attacks. However, our members do not always display ability to defend party policy. There occur not infrequent instances of passive attitudes, which fairly often are attributable to lack of consistency in posing statutory requirements. At all levels of party action we must strengthen discipline in implementing the resolutions adopted. This should be promoted by the systematically conducted self-inspections of the implementation of party tasks within individual communities. Consistency of action and of the implementation of party tasks is an important factor to making the party's undertakings more credible.

The most important element in our party is the basic party organizations. On the area of this province a definite majority of these organizations works systematically and adheres to statutory principles, actively joining in the solution of production and social problems in their communities. But there also exist party organizations which display inconsistency in implementing resolutions. The Province Audit Commission and the Intra-Party Commission of the Province Committee have uncovered many shortcomings in the performance of these organizations.

Exercising the inspirational and monitoring function, the Executive Board of the Province Committee has this year evaluated the performance of party echelons in Dzikówiec, Morawica, Stąporków, Pinczów and Kazimierza Wielka. It was found that these echelons accomplish their principal tasks in a proper manner, but that the degree of their implementation varies.

The leading echelons of many local committees still display many shortcomings such as incomplete implementation of resolutions, unsystematic work of groups, commissions and irregularities in record-keeping.

Within our party we provide only one condition for an excellent intra-party democracy, and that consists in that every party member has an equal opportunity and authority in shaping and influencing the program. Yet, despite a number of party activities past (debates, round tables, talks and meetings

with workforces or in POP meetings. They also fail to display activism at plenary sessions and in the work of problem commissions.

An important problem in the practice of party action is work with leading cadres. Since 1980 there have been many personnel changes in party posts and functions. The new cadres are characterized by sensitivity to human problems as well as by enthusiasm. However, systematic regular and advanced training of persons holding leading posts remains necessary.

A fundamental task of the party is its permanent presence among working people. We must be active in solving the problems with which society is struggling. PZPR members have a broad field for action in representative, self-government and trade-union bodies as well as in various social organizations. A highly important plane for organizing activism is provided by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). The thousands of PRON activists operating in Kielce Province include many party members. They contribute their commitment and experience to the PRON's activities. The party's leading role in this social movement should consist in political, socially accepted initiatives as well as in creating the climate and conditions for effective action. An important role in inspiring the activism of people's councils and urban and rural self-governments is to be played by the party members active in these bodies. A special task is developing and strengthening the bonds between the councils and society, stimulating the activism of people in solving community problems, combatting negative social phenomena, etc.

Work establishments have at present become a front of political struggle. The opponents are attempting to exploit legal structures for their anti-socialist aims. Thus it is a party task to struggle for the socialist nature of all plant structures and organizations, especially self-government elements. Despite the pressure exerted by the political enemy in the province the membership of trade-union organizations is slowly but steadily growing: they already operate at more than 770 work establishments and associate about 40 percent of the total workforce. These days the practical implementation of partnership between the party and trade unions is of special importance. We should defend the autonomy and independence of trade unions. In the present situation it is the moral duty of every PZPR member to take an active part in trade unions as well as to be active among the workforces in behalf of developing and strengthening the trade-union movement.

A great task of the party is work with the rising generation. On the province party organization rests the duty of acting in behalf of the rebirth and enrichment of the ideological life of youth, arming young people with thorough socio-political knowledge, preparing them for independent assessment of social phenomena and processes. Here a special role should be played by young party members, whose number in our province party organization exceeds 16,000. Youth organizations, too, must display greater activism.

Special tasks as regards upbringing youth rest on the school system. Despite the fairly high proportion of party members among teachers, the political commitment displayed by a large part of the teacher community is too low. To cope with their increasingly difficult tasks, the POPs at schools and higher schools must, in their day-by-day activities, feel responsible for stimulating the activities of teachers as well as for the activities of school and student

youth organizations. They must act as guides and organizers of political life in the teacher community.

An important role in the ideological and propaganda work of the party belongs to regional mass media. They should promote socialist awareness and the ability to think in categories of the state among the society more actively than they are doing now. In this connection, it is necessary to improve party work within the journalist community.

In our day-by-day activities we must bear in mind and consider our experiences, both those before August 1980 and those before and after 13 December 1981. Decisive to the success of our policy are: tranquil work at plants, improved economic effects, an improvement in consumer supplies, and fewer troubles of everyday life. We are acting in the presence of a difficult international situation. Attacks on our country and the entire socialist community are unceasing. In our political work we thus have to demonstrate to society the true aims of the current anti-communist crusade.

We face a period of intense intra-party work. Even now preparations are under way in our organizations for the reports-elections campaign. Everything must be done to make that campaign promote the strengthening of the party and open a new chapter of constructive and fruitful work.

Party Development in Lublin Province

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8-9 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by (s): "The Party in Miedzyrzec"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /What is the present situation in the Miedzyrzec party organization? How are to be evaluated the activities undertaken by the basic party organizations and the city party echelon during the current term of office now that it is approaching its end? Such are the questions to which answers were sought during the September plenum of the Miedzyrzec Podlaski PZPR City Committee./

The numerical size of the city party organization in Miedzyrzec has declined in the last 2 years owing to the surrenders of party cards and fairly numerous deletions from membership rolls. The social composition of membership has changed markedly. At present blue-collar workers account for 36.4 percent of the membership of the city party organization. There are few young people in the party: they account for 12.7 percent of the membership. Of the currently existing 37 basic party organizations one-half consists of numerically small organizations (18 POPs have not more than 15 members each) operating most often in school communities, small branch plants and certain local organizations.

At the plenum it was declared: /Not all POPs are implementing their legal/statutory obligations./ This happens, for example, as regards party meetings. During the year 1983 the average POP held five meetings, and there are some POPs that have met only twice--e.g. the POP at the Post and Telegram Office

(UPT) and the POP at the Health Care Team (ZOZ) and even these meetings were held only upon the express initiative of the PZPR City Committee. The party apparently does not feel like a proprietor in these work establishments. That is bad, because the problems which should be attended to by the POPs there are not in short supply. Complaints about the operations of the Post Office in Miedzyrzec are commonly known, but nevertheless the party organization at the UPT has not attended to these complaints, has not evaluated the performance of the post office and has not taken party steps and decisions.

Party activists holding various elected offices claim: /We must perform a self-critical evaluation of our performance in energizing the activities of the POPs so that their really difficult day-by-day work would produce measurable effects in their communities and promote the joint solution of the difficult problems of the workforces and discrete communities in our city./

In this connection, individual party tasks were mentioned as a factor that could energize and improve the activism of the comrades who are passive and make insignificant contributions to the work of party organizations.

Then the party's condition in Miedzyrzec was evaluated critically but genuinely. Another topic at the plenum was the cooperation with and political influence of party members on the socio-political organizations operating in the city. In that context, special attention was paid to youth, the PRON and trade unions.

A reminder was offered--when speaking of youth--to the effect that during its current ending term of office the City Committee attended to problems of the rising generation by adopting a resolution and a schedule of activities for work with youth. It was stated that these activities are being implemented properly. However, there exist POPs which do not appreciate the importance of the problem and fail to promote activism among young people. The following plants were named: SPOLEM General Consumers' Cooperative, LUKBUT [expansion unknown], MEPROZET Enterprise for Mechanization of Animal Production and CERAD [expansion unknown], in which youth organizations are overcoming stagnation and taking steps owing to appropriate help and inspiration--from the POPs and management. In these plants the problems of the young workforce are not overlooked by the POPs and management, too; realistic ways of solving these problems are being jointly worked out there.

The Commission of Youth, appointed under the city manager--in accordance with a proposal by the PZPR City Committee--has started its activities well. It is taking many initiatives, jointly with the City Board of the ZSMP. A particularly valuable initiative is the construction of patronage housing by the city's youth. The commission's activities have also resulted in establishing the (Joint) General Inspector's Office for Work with Youth in Miedzyrzec, and likewise with so-called socially unadapted and demoralized youth.

The City Committee engages in--as was stressed during the deliberations at the plenum--daily cooperation with the City PRON Council. The Council's resolution states: /"We wish to broaden this cooperation and concentrate joint efforts in all sectors of the social and economic life of our city."/

PRON elements operate in many plants and institutions of Miedzyrzec. But wherever the party organization is weak, the other social organizations, too, are not producing significant results and the activism of the PRON elements, too, is weak. Thus, a reminder was made at the plenum that it is a task of party organizations to provide the conditions for the promotion and liberation of social activism in the PRON and shape a platform for national accord and the implementation of general national tasks.

In speaking of trade unions, it was stressed at the plenum that it is an important task of the POPs to provide every assistance to trade unions and influence a proper attitude of state offices and plant management toward their activities, toward extending the scope of trade-union activities to all domains important to working people. In Miedzyrzec, trade unions arose in nearly every work establishment and institution in which they are legally empowered to operate independently. They are absent only at the Health Care Team and the Building Materials Plant of the WZSR [expansion unknown]. The proportion of employees belonging to trade unions differs at different plants. For example, at LUKBUT as many as 80 percent of employees have joined the trade union, at MEPROZET, 15 percent; at ZREMBA Machine Construction Works, 14 percent; and at the State Motor Transport enterprise, 5 percent.

The above aspects of the daily activities of the city party echelon and basic party organizations in the socio-political sphere are not, of course, the only aspects of these activities of the party in Miedzyrzec. At the plenum the party's activities in the economic sphere were broadly discussed and it was stated: /Activities both in the socio-political and the economic spheres should be of constant concern to every POP, every party member, and they should be intended to create an atmosphere of honest, solid work, of the utilization of all possibilities and social initiatives for the good of our city."/

/This was not a plenum presenting a smoothed-out, varnished picture of the party's situation in the city. But this also was not a doom-saying plenum. It discussed candidly both the accomplishments and the weaknesses and mistakes committed.

Chelm Province Plenum on Young Generation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8-9 Oct 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (gaj): "Socialist Upbringing of Rising Generation as a Task to All: Plenum of the Chelm Province PZPR Committee"]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION) The party's tasks in the process of the socialist upbringing of children and school youth were the topic of the Thursday (6 Oct 83) plenary session of the Chelm Province PZPR Committee./ [printed in boldface]

The deliberations, chaired by Jerzy Szukala, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, were attended by: Wladyslaw Kata, deputy director of the Department of Economic Affairs, PZPR Central Committee; Henryk Kierski, deputy director of the chancellery of the Central Committee Secretariat; and Jacek Markiewicz, chairman of the Province Committee of the Democratic

Party (SD), Jozef Siomak, secretary of the Province Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL); Zbigniew Dulski, deputy chairman of the Province PRON Council; and Ryszarda Mardon, chairwoman of the District Council of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZHP).

The report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, presented by Barbara Baluk, Province Committee secretary, stressed that the guidelines for the party's activities relating to the socialist upbringing of children and school youth are provided by the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress and the 9th Central Committee Plenum, stating that the development of education and upbringing is an indispensable factor in social and economic progress. Without a modern socialist system of popular education, a harmonious development of society and a rapid surmounting of the economic and moral consequences of the present crisis are impossible. Hence also the great importance attached by the province party echelon to issues of educational development.

And yet, opponents of socialism in years past have aimed at undermining the legal and systemic principles of the socialist school, its state-run and secular nature. A segment of the teaching cadre proved susceptible to the ideological and organizational influences of these individuals. This attitude was demonstrated by the activities of the pertinent commission of Solidarity which had, during the period from August 1980 until December 1981, demanded of the authorities the right to, among other things, monitor curriculums of instruction and upbringing as well as the autonomy of educational institutions as regards personnel policies, and which had even forced the heads of certain schools and representatives of the province school system administration to dismiss or hire specific teachers.

Attempts at political division of society were also extended to youth. The activities undertaken, especially in Wlodawa and Chelm, were intended to disrupt the scouting movement and mobilize school pupils for the strike movement and the poster drive.

The growing anarchy of life was halted after the introduction of the martial law. In practice, since March 1982 no activities conflicting with socialist laws have been recorded in schools and other educational institutions of Chelm Province. This does not mean, however--the report stressed--that there exist no divisions within the teaching communities.

Pursuant to the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, responsibility for a proper direction of renewal in Polish schools rests not only on the educational authorities, the school administration, the faculty councils and the social organizations operating in schools but also on the school party organizations.

The inspirational, organizational and monitoring functions of party organizations in the daily life of schools must be reflected in their ideological influence on the consciousness and behavior of both teachers and pupils. A special responsibility for organizing school life is borne by the POPs. Hence also, they should regularly evaluate the performance of schools and make recommendations for streamlining their activities. The factors to be evaluated should be chiefly: state of upbringing work and level of instruction, ideological-political situation, working conditions, interpersonal relations,

the school's influence on the community and cooperation with parents. A vital element of the party's activity is the support--through its members--of the activities of the faculty councils, the Polish Teachers' Union and the youth and social organizations as well as of student body government.

Following the report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, Benedykt Struzik, the Chelm Province Governor, described the current state of educational resources in Chelm Province and the directions of upbringing work at schools. There are 318 schools and other educational institutions and centers, with a combined enrollment of 51,857 children and youth, or 22 percent of the total population of Chelm Province.

The present size of teaching facilities has to be regarded as unsatisfactory. In principle, elementary and supraelementary school facilities in cities are maintained properly but their quantity is inadequate in relation to enrollment, specially as regards elementary schools. In the countryside educational facilities are even more underinvested.

Both speeches provided the basis for discussion, in which the following took the floor: Andrzej Jarosz, first secretary of the Wojslawice Gmina PZPR Committee; Adam Choma, Militia noncom from the Regional Office of Internal Affairs in Chelm; Tadeusz Kluczyk, secretary of the Chelm Province Board of the TKKS [expansion unknown]; Halina Okon, secretary of the Chelm City PZPR Committee; Anna Tworuszka, director of the Medical Professional Study Center in Krasnystaw; Marian Ludwikow, chairman of the ZSMP Province Board; Stanislaw Cywinski, member of the PZPR Province Committee; Janusz Kieszowski, Province Committee member, secretary of the POP at the Krasnystaw Artificial Fibers Plants (ZWS); Janusz Kopycinski, Province Committee member, secretary of the POP at the ChPB [expansion unknown]; Daniel Han, inspector general at the KOiW [expansion unknown]; Wladyslaw Kata, deputy director of the Department of Education and Upbringing at the PZPR Central Committee.

In the discussion it was emphasized that the situation in the Chelm Province school system at present is much better than during the period prior to 13 December 1981. However, some teachers merely perform their teaching duties without becoming involved in the process of the socialist upbringing of the rising generation. The thesis of ideology-free instruction, which certain of these teachers propound, is dangerous.

The program outlining main directions and tasks in the upbringing work of schools which is being currently introduced in educational institutions is in principle a very good program, but it has to be translated into reality by the appropriate human element--primarily by committed individuals who have the knowhow and authority. Hence--the discussants stressed--in party work we should pay attention to eliminating from the school system individuals who are opposed to the socialist school. The discussants asked: "For how else can we restore to children and youth the faith in the ideals proclaimed by the party?"

The participants in the discussion representing work establishments demanded, moreover, that schools should pursue educational activities in the field of strengthening and maintaining regular cooperation with clubs and provide youth with sports facilities.

The plenum adopted a resolution accepting the substance of the report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee and outlining tasks for the POPs operating in schools and other educational institutions, as well as for the party members employed in school administration and also for all those who take part in implementing the main directions of ideological-upbringing work with children and youth. In addition, the plenum accepted the report on the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum and of the PZPR Province Committee of 30 November 1982, concerning the tasks of party echelons and organizations in working with youth, as well as of the resolution on the course of the reports-elections campaign within the PZPR. In addition, the party's recommendation to the post of Editor-in-Chief of TYGODNIK CHELMSKI [Chelm Weekly] was accorded to Piotr Miszczuk.

1386

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TACTICS OF AIR, GROUND OPERATIONS DESCRIBED

Conduct of Air Defense Operation

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish
No 5, May 83 pp 5-10

[Article by Col (doctor habilitatus) Witold Pokruszynski: "Air Defense Operation by Nation's Air Defense Forces"]

[Text] The author calls attention to a very important problem from the standpoint of modern theory on the art of operation by the nation's air defense forces, indicating broadly the form and substance of an air defense operation as prepared and conducted at the operational level.

The development of nuclear-missile weapons has brought about an incomparable increase in the significance of an armed battle in aerospace, which has become the main arena for the use of the newest means of destruction. That is where the fullest use is made of the velocity, altitude and maneuvering parameters of the means of aerospace attack, which are intended to transmit the primary portion of the enemy's nuclear potential.

In a nuclear war an armed encounter in aerospace will most likely be the first and decisive stage of an armed conflict, the results of which will not be compensated by operations conducted in the continental and oceanic theaters of operation (TOW).

In a war in which nuclear weapons are not employed, armed combat in aerospace also acquires strategic-operational momentum, as has already been shown during actions in Vietnam and the Middle East.

The concept of an air operation, as a primary form of combat activity of air forces, has been part of the theory of the art of war for a long time. The air defense operation, however, was introduced into the theory of armed combat with great resistance and not until several years ago did it become part of the theoretical and practical planning of the combat activity of the air defense forces as a new element in the development of the art of operations in these armed force branches.

But differences still continue to exist on the definition of an air defense operation, both as to the form and scope of goals and tasks and as to the level of command at which the planning and conduct of the operation is to take place. Although in some of the elements named the differences in interpretation are not very important, there are serious differences in opinions and theoretical works concerning the level on which an air defense operation is planned and how it is conducted, and also on the role of air defense in the western TDW. Many military theoreticians and practitioners have doubts as to the feasibility and theoretical justification of the conduct of of an air defense operation by Poland's Air Defense Forces (OPK).

And yet the art of operation analyzes--through the primary forms of organizing and conducting combat activities by operational large units, operational-tactical large units, tactical large units and units--operations, regular combat activities, battles, and strikes.

The dissimilarity of these concepts, from the standpoint of the scale in which they are examined, are revealed in the goals, tasks, participation of forces and means, thrust, duration, and results of actions.

A military operation--in its most general meaning--is a form of preparing and conducting combat activity at the strategic or operational level and has strategic or operations goals, tasks, thrust, and duration, i.e., all of the primary time and space parameters.

The operation is conducted in the TDW, at strategic and operational axes, when it becomes necessary to concentrate the efforts of several operational large units or operational-tactical large units to rout the enemy's main forces and achieve specified goals.

Modern operations, irrespective of the branch of the armed forces and the purposes for which they are being conducted, have many common and specific features as to their organization and conduct.

The general principles and common features pertaining to the preparation and conduct of an operation, together with the specific characteristics for conducting combat activities that are peculiar to every branch of the armed forces, form the essence of a military operation for a given branch of the armed forces.

The common and most characteristic features of today's operations include: very large momentum as to amount of forces, means, and space; use of weapons of mass destruction; subordination of all operational large units, operational-tactical large units, and tactical large units, to one commander, according to one operation plan; division of tasks according to the space, time and sequence of their execution.

All of these features are peculiar also to the OPK as a branch of the armed forces or its operational large units.

In addition to the features that are common and apply to military operations in general, an air defense operation has its own specific features which differentiate the organization and conduct of an air defense operation by the OPK as a branch of the armed forces.

The most important features specific to an air-defense operation include: the destruction of the enemy's main forces at distant approaches, at borders and at the important objectives in the country; continual action against the enemy until he is destroyed or leaves the air defense region and total execution of the tasks assigned in the operation; great spatial thrust, intensity and dynamism of actions causing sudden changes in the situation over large areas; simultaneous commitment to battle (combat) of the OPK's main forces; a high degree of maneuverability of combat activity; a constant striving to be ahead of the enemy in terms of time and preempt him in the execution of tasks.

In some theoretical works we find, as something that is constant and unshakable, the concept of an air defense operation prepared and conducted on the strategic level, i.e., in the TDW, as well as on the operational level--in a given air-operations axis.

In the TDW, according to present opinions, an air defense operation is a component element of a strategic operation, mainly in the initial period of the war, and is of a combat-arms nature, because the OPK take part, as well as the strike aviation units, rocket and artillery forces, and anti-aircraft defense units of other branches of the armed forces. Its main goal, as a rule, is to disrupt or break the enemy's offensive air operation in the TDW by assaulting the means of aerospace attack (SNPK) on land and in the air.

An air defense operation, on the other hand, on an operational scale, may be prepared (organized) and conducted by an operational large unit or by air-defense forces, depending on the amount of forces, means and organizational structure, in a given air-operations axis.

Hence Poland's OPK, in view of their structure, capability and combat readiness, the situation in the western theater of operations (ZTDW) and range of strategic-operational tasks being executed in the Warsaw Pact member-countries air defense system, can participate in an air defense operation on a strategic scale, treating this participation as a specific form of implementing the tasks which ensue from the general goals of the air defense operation in the TDW. They may also organize and conduct an air defense operation independently at one of the main air-operations axes in coordinated action with the air defense forces and means of other branches of the armed forces, within the boundaries of the country's air defense region and with the operational large units of the air defense of neighboring allied states, executing tasks specified in the states' air defense plan by assaulting the enemy's SNP [means of air attack] in the air.

Thus an air defense operation on an operational scale, prepared and conducted by the OPK, may be an element of an anti-aircraft operation in the ZTDW, with a specific goal, thrust, and tasks, and it will consist basically of air and air-defense battles and combat in designated air-operations axes.

Therefore, the concept of an OPK air defense operation should mean: a series of battles and combat action, coordinated and planned as to goal, place and time, executed on the basis of one operation plan, by the OPK and defense forces of other armed forces branches, for the purpose of executing tasks--the defense (cover) of objectives, regions and military forces.

In the coastal axis and in the front-line area, the intentions of the air defense operation and the tasks to be implemented in this operation, may be combined with front-line and naval operations.

The goal of the OPK's first echelon first air defense operation, during the strategic defense operation in the TDW, may be to rout (defeat) the enemy's main air formations at the distant approaches, and to repulse massed strikes in order to maintain the survivability of those objectives and means of air defense that are the object of strikes in the enemy's first offensive air operation and which are in the air-operations axis.

The goal of the OPK's second echelon air-defense operation, as a rule, is to end the attacks on the enemy's aviation and cruise missiles and prevent strikes on objectives and military formations in the country. There may also be cases where the operations of the OPK's second echelon are not of an air-defense operation nature, and only regular combat activities. That usually occurs when the OPK's first echelon successfully executes the tasks assigned to it in the air defense operation and the enemy is not able to continue its intention--the conduct of an offensive air operation.

The main tasks of the OPK in an air defense operation are to:

1. Rout the enemy's main forces ahead of the ground-air missile firing zone and attack cruise missiles during their flight and prevent the execution of strikes against defended objectives (centers) that are of political-administrational, industrial or transportation importance.
2. Rout the main forces of tactical and naval carrier aviation ahead of the execution zone and prevent the execution of strikes on objectives and industrial and transportation regions and bases, airfields and transports, and other important objectives in the country's air defense region which are of great importance in the given strategic-operations situation.
3. Protect the operational forces (ground) particularly while they are being concentrated and regrouped on the operational axis, and also the nuclear-missile bases and launchers (should they appear on the country's territory).
4. Provide cover for the air and amphibious assault landing forces in the staging and loading areas, as well as during flight (ocean crossing).

The OPK can execute some of these tasks simultaneously or successively, depending on how the situation in the TDW develops and on the combat-readiness of the military forces. In addition to the tasks accomplished within the framework of the air defense operation, the OPK execute tasks during the entire duration of the war, i.e., during periods when the enemy, through his aerospace forces conducts limited--according to goals and thrust, combat action, e.g.,

conducts reconnaissance from air and space, missile and aircraft attacks on individual (certain) objectives and troop formations. During such periods the OPK, employing limited (detached) forces, conduct regular combat activity aimed at reconnoitering the SNPK, preventing them from conducting reconnaissance and attacking protected objectives, and they also take measures to ensure that air superiority is maintained.

The specific form of the operation, the composition of the forces participating in it and the thrust of the air defense operation, are determined by the conditions which exist at the air-operations axis, and mainly by the enemy's troop composition and capability and the probable nature of his activities, but also the composition, organizational structure and formations of OPK even before the operation began (e.g., in peacetime).

The OPL have various modern combat arms, equipped with the latest means of battle as required by the air-defense operations being conducted (participation in an air-defense operation in the TDW), and can reconnoiter the activities of the enemy's air force on the European continent and effectively interfere with the onboard communication, navigation and bombing systems; conduct radar and radio detection and reconnaissance on the approaches to the state boundaries as well as throughout the entire country; assault the enemy's means of attack at far, intermediate and close distances from boundaries and objectives, and also can directly defend objectives.

To conduct an air defense operation, the OPK are developing their forces and means, establishing operational formations based on existing formations of these troops.

OPK formations should correspond to the anticipated (probable) activities of means of air attack in a given air-operations axis, eliminate the possibility of surprise on the part of the enemy, ensure effective action by the troops (operational large units and units) during execution of combat tasks, facilitate the attack on air targets ahead of the task-execution zone (in the entire indispensable range of altitude), ensure the possibility of concentrating the fighter-aircraft effort on the main axes of operation; maintain survivability of the air defense system when the warring sides are employing all modern means of destruction; provide continuity of command of troops and coordinated action between forces participating in the operation and during commitment of reserves to battle.

Hence the OPK operational formations should, above all, ensure the defeat of the enemy's main forces in the combat zones and in the distant approaches to defense objectives (regions), in the probable air-ground missile firing zones. The criterion for the rationality of an operational formation is the degree to which the troops' combat potential can be realized during any of the enemy's activities, the survivability of the air defense system and the ability of the troops to conduct effective operations during the entire air defense operation.

Most often, OPK operational formations will consist of two or three echelons of various large units, reporting directly to a central command.

The number of echelons is determined by specific factors, including the following: the importance and capacity of the operational axis, the number and significance of the objectives being defended, and their deployment on the country's territory.

The strengths of the individual echelons will not be equal, for that will depend on the form of tasks they execute during the operation and on the depth of the air-operations axis.

Combat tasks, i.e., attacks on aircraft and missiles in their flight, are executed by conducting air-defense battles in the air, in coordinated actions with ground air defense forces, the navy and air force, with a clear division of tasks in accordance with their assignment and capabilities.¹

Every air-defense battle will be conducted by the forces of one, two, or more operational-tactical large units of the OPK, using the maneuver forces of those units that are outside the zone of air-defense conquest or in a secondary axis.

Air battles can be conducted in some axes where there is a large OPK formation established to rout the enemy's main aviation forces, or at great distances from the objective and regions being defended.

Air battles in an air defense operation make it possible to rout the enemy's aircraft in previously specified (assigned) zones, and continually attack the enemy until he is totally destroyed.

It can be expected that the OPK's air defense operations will be organized and conducted in two stages. In the first stage--a battle with the enemy's first mass air strike, in the second stage--a repulsion of the succeeding mass strikes and attacks on small groups of the enemy's aircraft and cruise missiles during their flight.

The duration of the first stage may be several hours to one day, the second--from one to several days.

Each of the air-defense operation stages may consist of several periods. In the first stage, the periods may consist of: direct preparation of troops for battle; repulsion of mass strike of tactical and onboard air force; repulsion of on-duty strategic air forces; repulsion of a second strike by enemy's tactical air forces; attacks on single aircraft and small groups during reconnaissance flights.

¹ An air defense battle is a group of ZT [tactical large unit] attacks conducted simultaneously or consecutively, covered by a joint operation plan to rout specific enemy aircraft formations in the air.

In the second stage: direct preparation of troops for the next battles and attacks on tactical and naval carrier aviation; repulsion of the enemy's concentrated or mass air strikes; attacks on single and small groups of enemy reconnaissance aircraft; restoration of the troops' combat readiness and preparation for the next air defense operation.

The exact form, composition of participating forces and the parameters (thrust) of each air defense operation will be determined each time by the conditions of the given air defense operation axis, the tasks and composition of the enemy's forces, the possible nature of his activities, the combat potential of the air defense and their formations, conditions existing in the TDW, etc.

The spatial thrust of an air defense operation will not be constant, for it depends on the size of the air defense region and the air-operations axes, and also on the thrust of the enemy's air defense operation.

The duration of the air defense operation will, as a rule, correspond to the duration of the enemy's air operation in a given axis. Furthermore, it is not excluded that in a given axis an air defense operation may end (be settled) after one or two battles, i.e., in several hours. This may occur when the enemy, in view of losses sustained in battle, discontinues the operation in this axis. Therefore, the duration of the air defense operation will depend on the duration of the enemy's air offensive operation as well as on the effectiveness of the action of the OPK and the anti-aircraft defense units of the other branches of the armed forces taking part in the operation.

Combat Commitment of Detached Unit

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 5, May 83 pp 21-24

[Article by Lt Col Ryszard Konopka]

[Text] If an attack is to succeed, the firepower and maneuver of the military forces must be properly coordinated. Detached units, used widely during the Second World War, have become one of the factors serving to increase the mobility and maneuverability of troops at tactical levels.

Needs for and Possibilities of Organizing a Detached Unit

Future fields of battle will be characterized by great maneuverability and speed of operations. The needs for and possibilities of organizing detached units will also be greater. The defender, to conceal his operational plan and mislead the attacker, will also form detached units, particularly in the organization of a defense without enemy contact. The detached units, using terrain zones prepared in advance or on the spot, will conduct delaying actions in the concealment belt at a depth of 15 kilometers or more. A main defense position, during an attack, by the main forces of a combined-arms unit or tanks (a tactical large unit) may also be covered by detached units (battalions) in the foreground.

In maneuver forms of battle the fighting sides will use terrain zones such as ravines, interlake inlets, and various kinds of water obstacles in order to slow down the enemy's attack and make it more difficult.

If the natural and artificial terrain obstacles are to be crossed adeptly, they must be previously seized and held until the main forces approach.

There are also other needs, such as the necessity to destroy the enemy's means of nuclear attack, the main stores of nuclear ammunition, the detection and destruction of which by one's own nuclear means will not always be possible. The maneuver employing reserves, used by the defender, will require reconnaissance, observation, and frequently engagement in combat until the main forces arrive; the use of the results of one's own nuclear strikes in order to preempt the enemy before he is able to eliminate their effects; the disorganization of the enemy's command system and supply units and subunits; seizure of the enemy's airfields and sections of highways suitable for use as runways.

Do the conditions on the field of battle and the combat equipment available make it possible for the detached unit to execute the tasks stated above? What are the possibilities that the detached unit will be able to separate itself from the main forces?

To obtain superiority in the rate the advance, the detached unit, in specific situations, can be transported in tanks, infantry combat vehicles, or armored transports. Although these types of equipment have similar maneuver capabilities, in specific conditions there can be important differences among them: e.g., tanks are more able to overcome obstacles and barriers in the destruction zone after explosion of a nuclear weapon, and infantry combat vehicles and armored transports can cross water obstacles more rapidly. Combat infantry vehicles are faster and are better able to cross difficult terrains than armored transports and tanks, but are less resistant to firepower, particularly anti-armor firepower, and have a lower coefficient of radiation attenuation. It is even easier to find differences that are due to equipment capabilities and terrain properties in a specific combat situation.

When the main forces are committed in a battle with the enemy and are overcoming natural and artificial terrain obstacles using assigned equipment, the detached unit, taking advantage of the gaps in the enemy's formations and not engaging itself in battle unnecessarily, and using the equipment providing the greatest maneuverability, can detach itself from the main forces. In organizing a detached unit, consideration should be given each time to the task and the development of the situation.

To establish the detached unit's superiority insofar as rate of advance is concerned in relation to the main forces, let us examine the following example: Let us assume that a detached unit will be sent to execute the following task, the depth of which is 20-30 kilometers, and the objective to be seized is in the enemy corps reserve's zone at a depth of 50-60 kilometers. The first question which should be answered is: when will the combined-arms main forces be in the area of the objective?

If the rate of advance is 6 kilometers per hour, then the main forces will be in the area of the objective in 5 hours, but if the rate of advance is 8 kilometers per hour, in 3.5 hours.

Second question: When will the detached unit reach the area of the objective?

Assuming the rate of the detached unit's advance to be 15 kilometers per hour, in 2 hours. But if the rate of advance is 20 kilometers per hour, in 1.5 hours.

What then, is the possibility that the detached unit will preempt the main forces? Simple calculations show that the detached unit will enter the area of the objective 2 to 3 hours before the main forces.

This example shows that a detached unit, in order to separate itself from the main forces and seize the ordered zone or objective, should maintain this kind of lead in the rate of advance. This rate of advance is possible with good equipment and competent command. The small composition of a detached unit, its highly selected command and subunit, and the comprehensive assistance of the staff which sends out the detached unit, will guarantee that the time for organizing the attack can be reduced, and in so doing, command will be more efficient.

In separating itself from the main forces, the detached unit will be guided by the principle of avoiding combat. It will penetrate (slip into) the enemy's combat formations, and unhesitatingly take advantage of the intervals and gaps in his combat formations.

The principle of combat avoidance cannot be applied by the main forces, for understandable reasons, and thus the detached unit can obtain superiority over the main forces in rate of advance and maneuverability.

Conditions and Methods for Committing a Detached Unit to Combat

The composition of the detached unit, its place in the combat formation, and how it is committed to combat, are determined by its goals and tasks.

If the use of a detached unit was planned in advance, then it can be organized during the preparatory period, which is advantageous because of:

- the relatively large amount of time it takes to organize and prepare it;
- its readiness for immediate use;
- its supply and command are already organized.

More common is the organizing of a detached unit from first-echelon subunits, which, during combat, have the greatest opportunity to detach themselves from the main force and execute the on-the-spot or previously planned tasks.

The place and time for committing a detached unit are difficult to establish and depend on the specific situation on the field of battle and on the detached unit's assignment. The basic criteria for these decisions is the principle of no unnecessary commitment to combat with the enemy in the commitment zone,

in order that it may quickly reach the assigned area, execute the tasks assigned to it, and survive until the main forces arrive.

The following conditions for commitment of a detached unit to combat can be set:

--Commitment of a detached unit (organized in advance) under conditions of a hastily organized enemy defense, can take place where large gaps and exposed flanks exist in his formations. This will ordinarily be possible during action deep inside the enemy's operations or if the enemy is rendered powerless by nuclear weapons, also in the forward area;

--commitment of a detached unit to combat after the battalion tank defenses are broken, or the position of the brigade reserves, and even the position of the enemy's tactical large unit. This makes for very favorable conditions, since the density of the tactical formations in the leading areas of the enemy's defense and the system of barriers makes it difficult or even impossible to commit the detached unit to combat without a struggle;

--during a breakthrough in the enemy's advance positions. The troops at this time are fighting in relatively narrow lines (sectors). Commitment of a detached unit into their formations would greatly increase the density of the combat formations, making a profitable target for a strike by the enemy's nuclear weapons or conventional means. Only a small detached unit (an infantry or tank company), operating initially by platoons, is better able to penetrate the main forces' combat formations and enter deep into the enemy's formations;

--when nuclear weapons are used. In order to overpower the enemy in the lead battalions and brigade reserve defense area, the rate of advance of the subunits (units) of the first echelon will be great, and the detached unit will not be able to "outdistance" them. In such cases, the task of a detached unit should be entrusted to those subunits which have had the greatest success;

--during pursuit. The enemy will strive to lead his main forces away from the strikes in order to save them for combat in the next zone. Under such circumstances, the detached unit has almost unlimited possibilities of entering into the enemy's rear and preempting him in the seizure of opportune terrain objectives and zones while withdrawing;

--in the combat engagement. The detached unit can surreptitiously enter into the enemy's rear and quickly advance into the area of task-execution.

The continually changing situation on the field of battle, the occurrence of new unforeseen tasks, forces the commanders and staffs to form detached units in the field, from those elements of formations which are closest to the specified objective or who are the most ready for combat.

The detached unit should execute tasks in a line and have a specific operation axis. The width of the line should, as a rule, equal the width of the advance sector of the combined-arms unit, and sometimes it may be larger, but on an average it will be 10 to 15 kilometers. A combat line of this width makes it

possible for a detached unit to accept a formation which is correct for the situation and to apply a wide maneuver.

It is best of all to organize a detached unit in advance from a second-echelon infantry battalion, in the staging or concentration area, and commit it to combat in a gap or from behind a flank in the direction of firepower from the next superior command. Under such conditions, it can operate at depths of 30 to 50 kilometers.

A detached unit, organized from subunits which are in the first echelon in the field during combat can only execute the easiest tasks and at the lowest depth-- 20 to 30 kilometers.

The artillery and assigned means of anti-aircraft defense should be merged with formations of the detached unit during its commitment to combat. Committing these elements from the combined-arms unit formations and merging them into the composition of the detached unit is complicated and difficult. It takes 15 to 25 minutes to merge in a battery. The exclusion of large numbers of subunits (engineering, chemical, technical) from the combat groups and putting them under a detached unit is not advisable, because it makes command difficult during commitment of a detached unit to combat.

In a case where a detached unit is committed into a gap between the resistance points of an enemy which is able to use anti-armor and machine firepower against incoming subunits, part of the forces of the detached unit must be assigned to widen this gap. This task may be executed by a reinforced infantry company. It should precede the main forces of the detached unit by about 20 minutes (4 kilometers). During this time it is able to execute its assigned task. After the main forces of the detached unit have entered, the company should disengage itself from the enemy and merge with the group.

Where there is more than a 4-kilometer gap in the enemy's defenses, i.e., an opening in his formation, the detached unit is able to enter in two columns. The depth of the formation of the detached unit will be about 7 kilometers. The commitment time at a distance of 4 kilometers is half as much in comparison with a one-column formation and amounts to about 30 minutes.

The distance between columns should vary from 500 meters to 2 kilometers. The lower distance is predicated on the necessity for maneuver by the subunits in the area, the merger of subunits detached from the first echelon into the formation of the detached unit, or security reasons.

An advance picket of company strength, reinforced by tanks, general reconnaissance elements and combat arms should always advance ahead of the main forces of the detached unit. It may disengage itself at a distance of 3 to 5 kilometers from the main forces, sending out a reconnaissance combat patrol to a distance of 1.5 to 2 kilometers.

The method of operation of a detached unit in a situation in which it is forced to use its main forces to rout the enemy defending himself in the combat zone is somewhat more difficult. A battalion is able in a very short time to

overcome the resistance of an infantry company organized for defense on the spot. It should be a lightning strike, using maximum firepower against the enemy defending himself, without commitment of the second echelon. The detached unit must be supported by the remaining elements of the unit's combat group and at least by the tactical large unit artillery and aircraft. It should effectively overpower the second echelons or battalion and brigade reserves, and prevent or at least greatly delay their advance in the detached unit's operation axis for the purpose of counterattacking or manning the important zones. This method of attack may make it possible for the detached unit to quickly separate itself from the main forces.

In every case, the superior officer should be responsible for merging the detached reinforcement subunits into the detached unit's combat formations, in order to relieve the detached unit commander who is directing the attack and committing subunits into the axis of operation.

In order to provide the detached unit commander with opportune conditions for organizing the attack, the combat-arms subunits should be subordinated to the battalion at least 40 to 50 minutes before the operation begins. This amount of time is necessary to assign the subunits their tasks, organize the coordinated action, perfect the communications system to the degree possible, and regroup sooner in the axis of operation. As exercises have shown, the detached unit commander is not able to make all of the assignments to all of the group elements in so short a time. That is why the assignments for the combat-arms subunits in this variant of operation can be made by the heads of the combat-arms and services. It is also their duty to efficiently merge their subunits into the detached unit's formation.

The process of organizing a detached unit from a first-echelon battalion with present reinforcement subunits and means is less complicated, because in this case it is not necessary to regroup, and command is based on an already-proven system of communications. But it is still necessary to support the detached unit and secure its entry from the higher levels. In order to create favorable conditions for a coordinated entry into combat by the detached unit, the artillery should destroy and overpower the enemy in the forward perimeter and deep in the formation, and particularly its reserves and artillery.

Fire from tanks, infantry combat vehicles and armored transports from the subunits in contact should be used to destroy observed means of fire.

Aviation is entrusted with the task of destroying and overpowering means of nuclear attack, artillery, reserves, command posts and radio-communication means. In addition, it provides air cover.

Anti-aircraft means in coordinated action with aviation should provide effective cover for the entry of a detached unit into action.

Battalions which are in contact with the enemy should destroy and disarm his means of fire, particularly at the flanks, so that the detached unit can go into action.

The reinforced detached unit is able to attain a rate of attack of approximately 15 kilometers per hour. This is determined by the speed of the advance of tank, artillery and mortar subunits and engineer elements. The faster the rate of attack, the shorter the columns (column), and the more effective the support, the easier it will be for the detached unit to enter into action and separate itself from the main forces.

* * *

In summary, it may be said that opportune conditions are required to provide a coordinated entry of a detached unit into combat. The most important of these is that the enemy's air and ground forces' active operations must be weakened at the axis of future operation. Poor security in the commitment of a detached unit into a gap in the enemy's formation causes a partial expenditure of his strength already at the beginning of the combat. Under these circumstances, the detached unit may not be able to separate itself from the fighting troops at all.

A gap in the enemy's defense in the axis of operation may be created by a nuclear strike or by the action of the forces in the main formation. The most opportune entry into combat will be ensured by the action of a detached unit immediately after a nuclear strike. Entry into combat when nuclear weapons are not used should be supported by artillery fire and aviation. This endeavor will not violate the principles for securing the commitment to combat of the second echelon or reserves.

A detached unit goes into the combat in a combat or march formation in anticipation of a meeting engagement. The method of formation will be dictated by the degree to which the enemy has been overpowered.

The detached unit's operations should show great maneuverability. Possible enemy groups entering into the axis of its operation should be fought through protection. The main forces, however, do not take part in the fighting but bypass the points of resistance and advance towards the area of execution of the main task.

Coordinated Action of Ground, Air Echelons

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 6, Jun 82 pp 29-33

[Article by Lt Col Ryszard Konopka]

[Text] The appearance of qualitatively new equipment and means of destruction indicates the direction of progress in the theory and practice of combat. The dialectically determined integration of the operations of ground-troops aviation with ground operations is an eloquent example of this.

Based on dialectic cause-and-effect dependence, it can be said today that air-ground operations will develop at a very rapid rate. This ensures the military

more and better equipment, which will facilitate the organization of such operations. Let us add also, as concomitant conditions: suitable organization of troops, war and war-exercise experience, and a preview of a future armed conflict.

Generally speaking, we can expect that new forms and methods of armed conflict will appear that are based on unified ground and ground-troops aviation forces. Air-ground operations will be aimed at:

- a perceptible increase in the dynamics of combat operations;
- a distinct enlargement of the spatial range of simultaneous action against the enemy;
- improvement in conditions for maintaining continuity of operations.

The not-so-trivial consequences of the new methods of combat may also be the element of surprise and the psychological disorganization of the enemy's troops.

Developments in helicopter construction have resulted in a mass application of helicopters, in a short time, in many armies of the world. In its present form a helicopter is not just an item of equipment used to observe the field of battle, for command, to conduct radio-communications combat, but it is primarily a means of combat and transportation.

Helicopters currently are a new value in an armed conflict, mainly because they make it possible to move means of destruction into aerospace, and to execute firing tasks under conditions not accessible to other types of aviation in close connection with fighting ground troops and directly to their benefit. If we add to the above-mentioned qualities such features as: good maneuvering parameters, good ability to make use of the terrain's sculpture and cover, high capability of detecting targets--than we can say that the combat helicopter fulfills many of the requirements of the anticipated field of battle. It is an unusually efficient means of combat which can supplement the ground-troops firepower system and assume some of the support tasks executed in the past by LMSz [expansion unknown].

At the present time many of the enemy's targets and objectives which are beyond the reach of the fire of the primary mass of one's own means of firepower, are of increasing importance.

At the same time, a shortage of means of distant destruction is observed. The forces and means which have this type of capability include:

- tactical and tactical-operational missiles;
- some types of rocket-artillery equipment;
- fighter-attack aviation and ground-troops aviation;

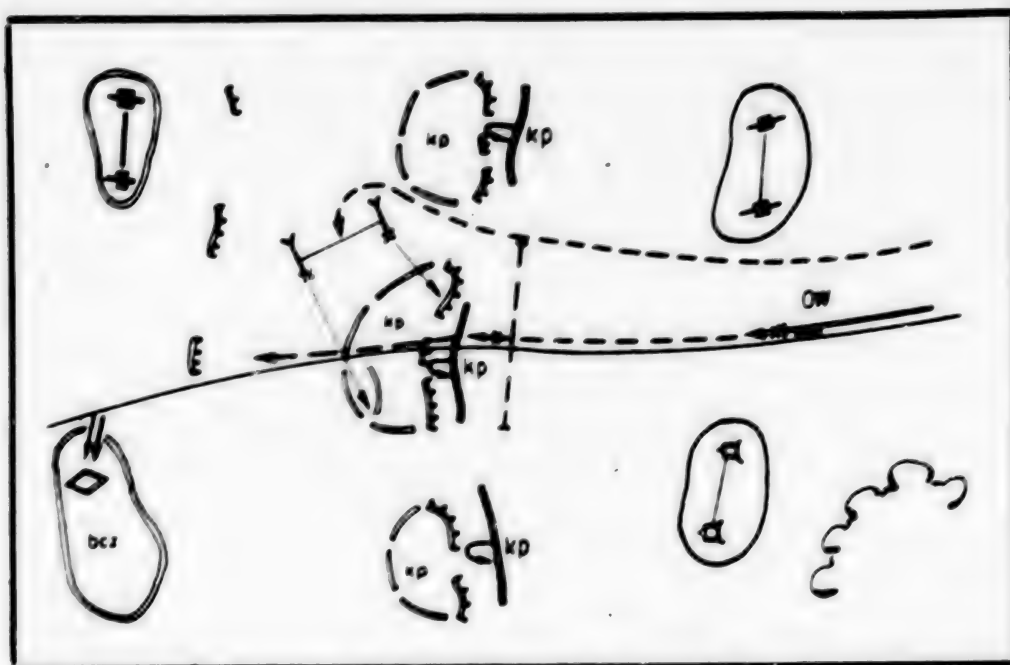


Fig. 1. Coordinated action of detached unit ground echelon with air echelon during breakthrough of enemy's defenses (variant).

--detached units;

--special groups.

There are ordinarily many difficulties connected with the use of the above-mentioned forces and means which have the potential of long-distance destruction.

Rocket artillery has a limited practical range, and its effectiveness in destroying targets shrinks greatly at maximum firing ranges. Just as missiles, it requires accurate reconnaissance of targets.

Operation and ground-troops aviation is to a large degree dependent on climate. It is also vulnerable to the enemy's anti-aircraft fire, and furthermore, in order to operate effectively it must invest a great deal of effort in fighting for and maintaining air superiority.

The air landing forces have the same features. For example: susceptibility to attack by the enemy's anti-aircraft means of fire and aviation, vulnerability to a direct attack by armored weapons, and low possibilities of maneuver after landing.

Special groups, in turn, do not have enough combat strength to undertake effective combat with strong elements of the enemy's combat formations.

It may happen, under such limitations, that most of the strength and means of long-distance attack cannot be effectively employed under the conditions of the field of battle described. For example:

--missiles and rocket artillery, for lack of accurate information on troop positions;

--aviation and landing forces, in view of bad weather;

--special groups, because of the size and strength of the enemy's combat formations.

From this standpoint, the advantages of the detached unit are particularly striking. In the first place, use of such a unit is not dependent on the nature of the war, whether weapons of mass destruction are used or not. It is even probable that in combat where mass destruction weapons are used the detached unit will have better conditions for entering into the enemy's formations and will have great freedom of operation. In the second place, having the correct equipment and means of combat, the detached unit is not very dependent on the weather or the time of day, and in many cases difficult conditions will even help in effectively executing combat tasks. In the third place, the information which the detached unit has obtained from reconnaissance does not have to be very accurate because it can be supplemented during the operation. In the fourth place, a detached unit of suitable composition has considerable combat strength, which ensures it the ability to destroy (crush) objectives in the enemy's formations that are large and resistant to attack.

Of course, the detached unit, as a means of distant destruction of targets in the enemy's formations, also has its faults, the most glaring of which is the possibility of complications during entry deep into the enemy's formations. The matter of fire support is of utmost importance among the conditions which restrict the detached unit's range of operation.

The possibility of using combat helicopters provides certain firepower reserves. They can be used as a very maneuverable and effective means of destruction which does not depend on terrain conditions.

When combat helicopters are used in the operations of detached units or other combat formations, we obtain a new, air-ground form of appearance of these elements on the field of battle, a form of enhanced ability to attack the enemy's objectives. This concept consists of combining into a single system both tactical and firepower advantages of a ground echelon and combat helicopters on the principle that their combat capabilities will be complementary.

The combined-arms commander organizing the coordinated action with the combat helicopters should establish:

--the method of calling up the helicopters for specified objectives (targets) and the signal to stop their activity;

--the methods of indicating targets;

--the signal to cease firing on air targets;

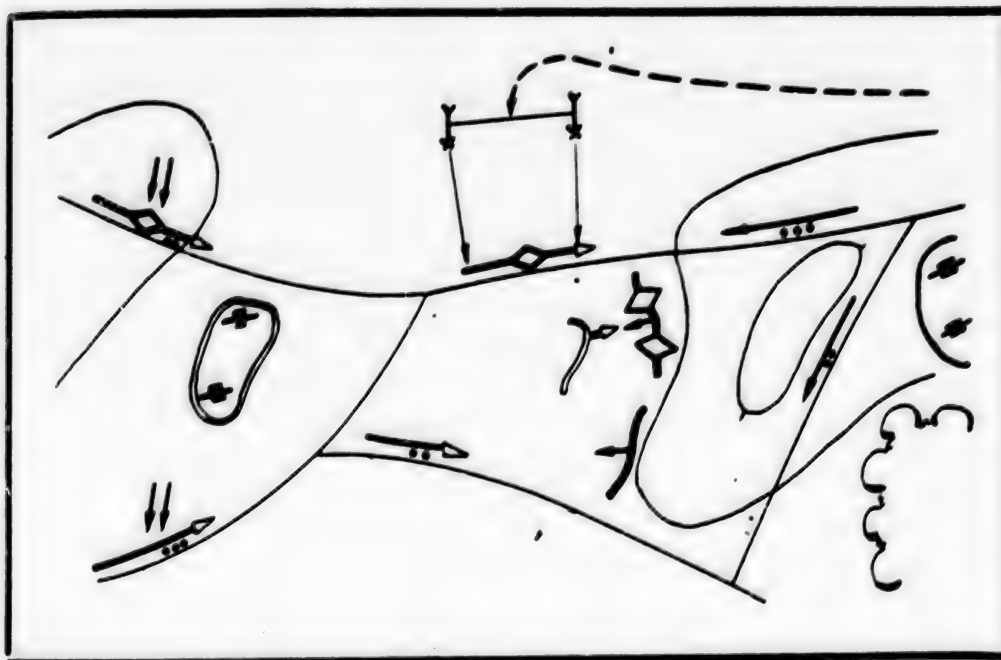


Fig. 2. Coordinated action of detached unit ground echelon with air echelon during pursuit (variant).

--the method of indicating the position of our own troops (ground echelon);

--instructions on "fly-out" and "fly-in gates".

The commander of the air echelon during the organization and conduct of joint activities should inform the commander of the ground echelon:

--about the state of the strength and means of the air echelon;

--on the possibilities of executing tasks in view of the range capabilities, increases in the number of flights and firing capabilities, the time of the earliest and latest task execution, the time for restoration of combat capability, the time of attack in response to a call from the field of combat, and when the helicopter will operate from the landing field and from the "zone";

--he should also indicate which anti-aircraft defenses or others should be crushed to make execution of the helicopters' tasks easier.

Combat helicopter support of the detached unit's operations will, in a very obvious way, increase the unit's combat capabilities. The detached units receive highly maneuverable means of fire, and furthermore obtain the benefits of the information on the enemy and terrain obtained directly from the helicopter crews.

But there is a real difficulty in using the air echelon in fights on the enemy's rear (formations), namely: the danger connected with the helicopters' penetration into the area of operations. This danger, to a large degree, is limited by the commonness of using helicopters in detached-unit combat and by the frequency of the flights. The danger to helicopters during flight requires that

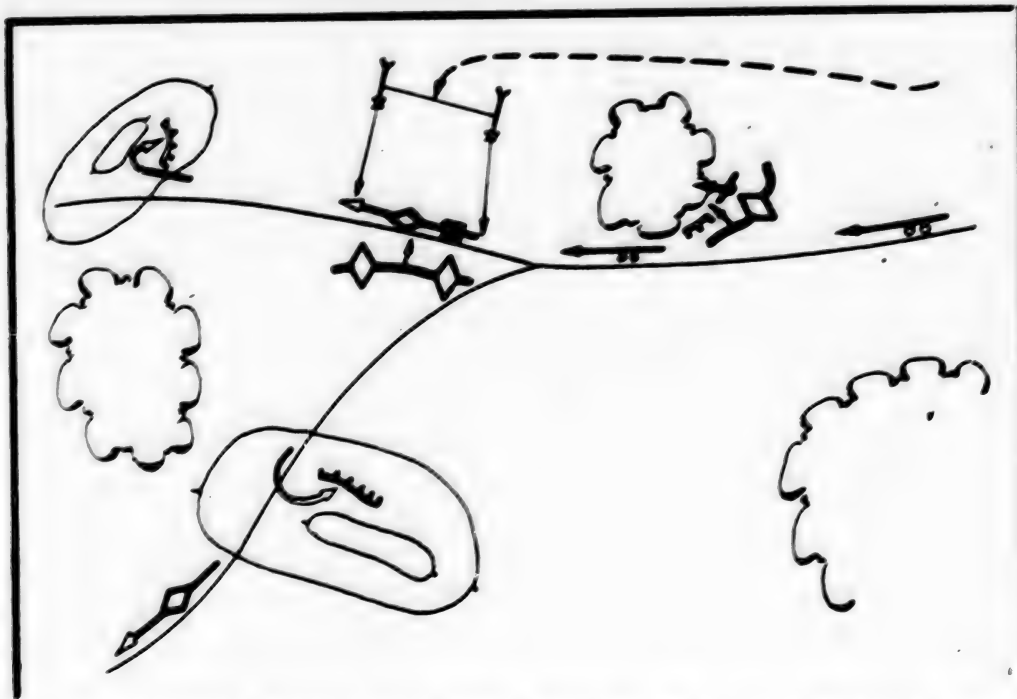


Fig. 3. Coordinated action of ground echelon and air echelon in meeting engagement (variant)

the anti-aircraft means in the corridor of penetration by the detached aviation forces and the artillery units be overpowered, which may be unprofitable in comparison with the effects obtained in the detached unit's area of operations.

In order to efficiently coordinate the action of the ground echelon with the air echelon, the following skills are required:

--the combined-arms commanders must be skilful in organizing joint action with the squadron (key) of the combat helicopters;

--the staffs of the subunits, and particularly the younger commanders, must know how to point out targets to the combat helicopters (armed) and describe their own position in the area;

--the combat helicopter crews must know how to destroy the targets pointed out to them by the combined-arms subunits, conduct reconnaissance, and transmit information about the enemy and the terrain to the combined-arms commander.

The effectiveness of support or reinforcement by combat helicopters demands that there be constant communication between the ground and air echelons. Radio communication can be doubled directly in the combat area by pointing out targets using illuminating rockets and ammunition rounds.

Ground-air echelon command should be examined from two aspects. First, the decisionmaking authority in the matter of forming a detached unit in an air-ground dimension, assigning tasks to them and directing their combat. Second, the authority to direct the operations of the combat helicopters directly in the area of combat with the enemy.

The decisionmaker in the case of the formation of a detached unit in a ground-air dimension, including the assignment of an appropriate combat-helicopter effort to support the ground echelon, should be only the combined-arms commander in charge of the helicopters on a permanent or temporary basis--temporary assignment.

However, authority to direct the operations of helicopters directly in the zone of combat with the enemy should lie with the ground echelon commander, because only he is able to implement the idea of the close coordinated action, mainly by directing strikes on specific objectives (targets) and immediately utilizing their results.

The exercises conducted by the ground-troops subunits and the helicopters provide a great deal of information in this area which can be used in further work in integrating ground-air operations. The hypothesis is confirmed that where a combat helicopters are used for reinforcement or support, an infantry battalion commander can successfully command a ground and air echelon.

Results of exercises make it possible to formulate a number of conclusions as to joint ground and air echelon operations. For example, the correctness of the hypothesis on the feasibility of having a battalion commander effectively command combat helicopters. Command by a commander of this level can also occur in a situation where ground troops are reinforced by aviation forces in a specific amount of time (several hours), as well as during those brief time intervals when the combat helicopters, ready for firepower attacks, find themselves over a ground echelon formation. The battalion commander himself can call the helicopters out of the landing field, assign them general tasks, and direct fire in the area of the targets or simply indicate the specific strike targets.

During the time that counterattacks by the enemy's reserves are being repulsed and during the meeting engagement, the battalion commander, because of the rapidly changing situation, can most accurately and in the shortest time, make the division of tasks and fire for the ground and air echelon, i.e., according to how things develop, direct the helicopter strikes. If higher-level commanders assign specific tasks to combat helicopters, there is the danger that they will not be effectively employed because the information obtained from the combat area becomes noncurrent very rapidly, which may result in firepower strikes by both the ground and air echelon on the same targets, while other important objectives are neglected.

The effectiveness of support or reinforcement with combat helicopters demands constant communication between the ground and air echelon. At present this type of communication can be maintained by assigning to the command station (command-observation station) the ground echelon commander--an aviation guidance officer with a broadcasting station. Radio communication can be doubled directly in the combat area by indicating targets using illuminating rockets and signal rounds.

9295

CSO: 2600/296

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS QUESTIONED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 252, 24 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Janusz Letowski: "Who Represents the Government?"]

[Text] The new law concerning government officials, following which further initiatives of a legal and political nature are now being taken, attempts to delimit the concept of the government official as best it can. Not even all those who work in civil services are to be officials. This title is to be reserved only for those who have deserved it, who have proven themselves with learning, diligence and ability, and who have proven that they are trustworthy. Worthy of trust, but whose? Of course, it is two-sided: on the one hand, those in whose interest they are supposed to act, namely the public, and on the other hand, those whom they represent, in whose name they function, namely the government. Lawyers have argued and continue to argue about the legal constitutional makeup of the Polish civil service. They have numerous reasons to do so. But the contents of the legislative acts passed lately (the civil service law, the law on councils) and also the draft law concerning the Council of Ministers now being looked into would leave no doubts: the Polish civil service is a government service. The government is the nucleus for administrative instructions in Poland; it determines the foundation and course of official policy, the directives and suggestions concerned with putting this policy into effect come from it (and directly from the premier).

The law on people's councils spoke and speaks of the governor as the government's representative. Since we who write for daily newspapers are not bound by strict legal discipline, we can boldly go a step further: the governor is not the only one who represents the government. Every administrative official represents it, because it is the government that must be mindful of who works in state administration, the government determines personnel policy, the government exerts an influence on staff decisions through a routine of hierarchical subordination. Consequently, the gmina or district official functions in the name of and for the accountability of the government. The government is at fault if he performs his duties poorly, is not well educated, or relates badly to clients! No legal subtleties will help here: such is society's opinion and it has solid support in the force of the law. Old Bismark, who, true enough, did not go down as a positive figure in Polish history, ruled the administration with an iron fist and it functioned with

clockwork precision for him; as prime minister he always spoke of "...my officials" and added "...with poor laws, but with good officials, one can govern quite well. But the reverse situation is entirely impossible." He knew what he was talking about and he was right.

But this is but a small fragment of the truth, for a landscape painted in such a manner is too beautiful to be completely genuine. A recent politician very aptly observed that the concept of administration is changing in socialist countries, that it encompasses virtually the sum of the nation's operations, the economy, supply, education, services--everything. Here alone is the heart of the matter most evident. Today, if someone cries "look how they govern!" more often than not they do not have the provincial or gmina administrations in mind but something different: the business firm, school, institution, or still other organizations. Whether the government likes it or not, it is accountable for the sum of the operations of this group as well. Also, the people employed there are its representatives in the society's consciousness. During 40 years of People's Poland, the public was taught to have exactly that sort of view of the state and its administration, so it is no wonder that efforts directed at giving enterprises independence and self-management to regional governing units by no means led to an immediate transformation of views as to who is at fault. Weary of ear-splitting complaints, Deputy Premier Szalajda's loud cry on television: "Is it the people or the premier who makes those shoes that fall apart!", will convince no one, even though everyone obviously knows that the premier does not make shoes himself. A Frenchman in Paris rising in the morning to see his daily bread suddenly going up by 10 centimes also, while going down the street, curses precisely Mitterrand, on whom his world depends. And he does not even think of listening to subtle arguments of economists that inflation, the Common Market, the system...Mitterrand is at fault and that is it. That is the way it is, that is the way it must and surely will be.

Therefore, if we speak of "administrative cadre policy" today we must be fully aware that that policy has a significantly broader influence than it seems at first glance. There is a school of contemporary philosophy which is called structuralism. Generally speaking, it says more or less that human speech suggests a particular state of affairs and, therefore, listening to what people are saying it is possible to find out how they see the real world. Consequently, if in everyday speech the difference between authorities and government offices as opposed to enterprises and factories is blurred, if here and there an official governs who is subject to regulations and circulars, if here and there there is a petitioner, there are applications, there is a decision and a cancellation, then 50 laws on reforming the economy and various kinds of self-government can be issued, and not much will change in the mind and speech of man. A petition is a petition, an application is an application, a decision is a decision, an official is an official...so it really is of no importance at all behind which desk he sits.

If we are in fact to change this picture, if--returning to the comparison made by Mr Szalajda--we wish to convince the public that the premier is not only not answerable for every piece of shoddy merchandise, but he does not

intend to be responsible and accountable for each local rascal and wheeler-dealer, then this precisely is one of the basic tasks of a future realistic and sensible cadre policy. After all, economic reform, regional, trade and organizational self-government constitute exactly the great opportunity for clearly defining limits as to whom the government takes responsibility for and on the other hand for whom it is reluctant to dirty its hands. You took on a scoundrel yourselves so take care of him yourselves--that is the motto which most likely should be the guiding principle for a cadre policy in the future. For it is exactly this present situation that is disadvantageous for the central authorities: a certain grant of independence to economic units causes, for it must, a growth in sly, deceitful, gangster-like tendencies, as we call them there. It suffices to read the daily news to assemble hundreds of examples. But people do not have a grievance against each wheeler-dealer individually; they have a grievance against the government because it governs badly, since it assigned him to a post of authority. Well, the government did not assign him, but self-government is supposed to elect him: it is their man and not the government's. Only the policy in this domain must be consistent if it is to be effective.

I hear in fact that it is being disputed whether directors appointed by founding organs without competition (which the law clearly requires) are being appointed in a valid manner or not. Even the Supreme Court itself must take a stand in this matter. This is not just a legal dispute. Very likely this is a dispute about something more: is he our man or their man? So, I sincerely wish that this dispute be decided in favor of the government: he is your man but we will see that he does not transgress the law, and if that should happen we will be ruthless! If we do not finally break through this magic circle, we will never procure sensible parameters for a government cadre policy. Even someone like the president of a cooperative in R.S. [expansion unknown] deceiving his clients and lying brazenly about rights to which they are entitled (read about it for yourselves in the weekly VETO) will function while continuing to make the government, party and the authorities of the people accountable, while the court case discusses solely and exclusively the contents of his pockets. As a pro-government author, I should like that the government cry out in a loud voice: I assume responsibility for the governor and the director for they are my officials, but please do not blame me for each and every dirty railway car. It is not I, but those autonomous and self-governing ones.

12491

CSO: 2600/179

GDANSK SHIPYARD RESPONDS IN WAKE OF RAKOWSKI VISIT

Author Predicts Future Battles

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 38, 21 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Kozniewski: "The Passive Ones: Rough-Hewing the Fog"]

[Text] In the last days of August deputy minister Rakowski met with the workforce of the Gdansk Shipyard. The encounter, full of political tensions, was a great political meeting. The excessively aggressive behavior of a certain group of workers attracted universal attention--heckling and booing, they voiced their hostile position to the government and its representative. It was also noteworthy--and the tense atmosphere of the meeting accented this strongly--that the party comrades present in the auditorium said nothing. Here and there was scattered applause; when it was time to support the guest's appeal for a 15-minute intermission, despite heckling to the contrary, the party comrades got up from their tables and thereby decided in favor of the intermission, but not one of them took the floor, not one had actively--that is by making his voice heard--opposed the adventurists, not one had counter-heckled or counter-booned; not one had shouted loud and clear in support of M. F. Rakowski.

That entire group of party members working at the Shipyard produced the impression of people who are not so much intimidated--the day after their delegate mentioned at the BAILDON Iron and Steel Plant, e.g., three apartments of party adherents that had been burned--as completely unused to political struggle and hence also to arguing at meetings. And yet, political struggle is not waged by gentlemen: "Comrade, I didn't interrupt you, so don't interrupt me." When one wants to argue his beliefs--one has to know how to hammer them home both by bellowing and by pounding the table and by outshouting the opponent.

In this respect we writers have always been "more badly educated" than those shipyard party members, because at our meetings, both party and union meetings, we knew how--and long before August at that--to hoot, whoop and in general act perhaps indelicately but in a manner demonstrating authentic commitment to political or professional affairs.

In the previous issue of TU I TERAZ we published a report by a young apprentice journalist describing the formation and first steps of a highschool circle of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth in these times, in 1982 or 1983. The circle was formed from just five members in a school in which an overwhelming majority of youth are opposed to this organization and, what is more, are adherents of the opposition. And instead of drawing precisely its greatest impetus for action from the fact that it is in such a minority--because only action in opposition to the majority represents genuine political action--that five-member circle is actually terrified by its smallness, and has nothing of the apostolic about it, as if it were nostalgic for the times when they used to be in the majority and could, instead of engaging in political struggle, quietly exercise their "official duties" and clip out for themselves coupons from their orthodox-mindedness.

The party workers in the Gdansk Shipyards who took part in the meeting with Rakowski produced exactly the same impression on me.

I understand: a party that has been exercising state rule for 40 years has long since ceased to be a militant party; it has become a party of persons oriented not toward political struggle but precisely toward exercise of power. True, there is still some kind of struggle they continue to engage in, namely, the struggle against the contrarities of the day-by-day functioning of socio-economic organisms, as if the fundamental problems of political struggle have receded into the past. But we had experienced the year 1981, and it was necessary to get rid of certain illusions, precisely those pertaining to the exercise of power, and to understand that our party must continue to wage an arduous struggle for its place, not only in the state but also in the society.

Not only at the Gdansk Shipyard, not only at some or other Warsaw or outside high school, but throughout the country we are dealing these days with such unreliable members of the party organization who believe that joining the party or a political youth organization was the greatest and most independent personal decision that they had ever made, who believe that, once they are admitted to the party, all decisions will henceforth be made for them by the party leadership. Once one is enrolled in the party, all that is needed is to act nice and quiet, to sit in silently at every meeting and, whenever possible--though this is not always possible--to clip out coupons for personal gain.

It must be plainly stated: they are like that because for a long time now our party has been demanding nothing else of them. All they had to do was to nod and applaud.

Yessing and applauding is undoubtedly the duty of anyone enrolling in a particular political party in certain situations of struggle against the opponent, when this or that party has to demonstrate its unity and determination. But yessing and applauding, needed as it is sometimes, always leaves much to be desired. When one belongs to a party--sometimes also to the ruling party, although this of course is more difficult--one has to desire and know how to engage in direct conflict with the political adversary, on using whatever weapons can or should be used at the moment. But in order to use such weapons and participate in such direct struggle, every party member must be in a state of permanent psychological readiness. Under our Polish present-day

conditions the party is not only production meetings, not only meetings of the executive board deliberating on plans of factory activities in a well-furnished conference room, but also and mainly it is a group of persons who are ready to maintain opinions of their own, who are capable of fighting for their opinions, and who sometimes even are capable of losing and ready to bear the responsibility for losing. These days the organization of production is a task of the government, but the organization of political struggle is a task of the party. Waging direct political struggle against all of the party's problems is nowadays the primary and paramount duty of the party member. Churchill had promised Englishmen victory, but at the cost of sweat, blood--their own blood--and tears. Socialists had sung that this would be our last battle, but this battle will come and it can be neither averted nor evaded.

I understand: the political activism of members of the ruling party must differ, must manifest itself differently, from the political activism of a revolutionary party. When the spring of 1968 broke out in Paris and barricades against De Gaulle were erected in the Latin Quarter, the slender General succeeded in drawing to the Champs Elysees his adherents, and an avalanche of some 200,000 Gaullists flowed from l'Etoile to the Louvre--this march prejudged that round in the General's political struggle.

Unfortunately--our party has been raised for years to rule rather than to battle. It has been raised not to battle but to engage in constructive collaboration. These definitions--absolutely just as they may be--may represent a mortal danger to a authentic political movement.

Poland at present is a landscape after battle, after a victorious battle. But it still is not a landscape after a victorious war. The First Punic War was followed by three more. I have no illusions whatsoever that we have won only the first. We want to believe that this will have been the most difficult one. But we will know that for certain only after several years when we assess the results of our economic reform. Only then we will know which war we won. But further wars--both political and ideological and moral--await us. We are dealing with a very tenacious and astute enemy. He is not composed of those who had booed and heckled from a corner of the shipyard auditorium. And he will certainly grow more astute, and so will others.

In order to confront the coming problems and struggles, our party must become a totally different assembly of individuals, consisting not of obedient yesmen and a silent majority but of individuals who are capable of having their own opinions and fighting for them--both unconventionally and openly and loudly and even--when the need arises--brutally.

Such thoughts flitted through my head while I looked on at the shipyard meeting with Rakowski and read in TU I TERAZ that report on the life of a small group of highschool students.

Life in Shipyard Described

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 41, 9 Oct 83 pp 8,9

[Comments of party and other activists, recorded by Remigiusz Zarzycki: "What Does the Gdansk Shipyard Live By?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /In its issue No 38, 1983, TU I TERAZ published a commentary by Kazimierz Kozniewski, "The Passive Ones," on the visit of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to the Gdansk Shipyard imienia Lenin. The following individuals replied to our question, "What Does the Shipyard Live By?": Jozef Bogdanowicz, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Gdansk Shipyard; Ryszard Szczurowski, deputy chairman of the Trade Union of Employees of the Gdansk Shipyard; and Stanislaw Grabowski, chairman of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) Council at the Gdansk Shipyard. Below we publish their replies.

To Prove Oneself....[Commentary by Jozef Bogdanowicz, first secretary, PZPR Plant Committee at the Gdansk Shipyard imienia Lenin]

I have been working at this shipyard for 30 years. I first came here as a 16 year old boy. First, I had worked in the Brigade of Service to Poland, then as a forge operator in the boiler-welding department, and later in the marine engine and equipment assembly department.

I joined the PZPR in 1953. I was, among other things, secretary of my department POP (basic party organization). I have only recently--as of 21 June of this year--become first secretary of the plant party committee. /Let me put it tersely: directing the activities of the shipyard party organization has never been an easy task. It is no easy task nowadays either./

For years the shipyard has been grappling with various problems. The principal problem is the acute housing shortage. One-third of the workforce is housed in billeted quarters and worker hostels, some for many years. The number of applicants for cooperative housing will keep rising here, because as much as 53 percent of the workforce consists of persons up to 30 years old, most originating from outside the Tri-City [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot] and its environs. Recently wages have become another crucial issue to our employees. We earn much less than we did in the 1970s--of course on taking into account the so-called national average and the purchasing power of the zloty. Yet our working conditions are truly arduous. Moreover, the piecework wage system is, I am convinced, outmoded and does not motivate more productive labor. The considerable turnover of the shipyard's workforce stems from two basic causes: wages and housing.

We are building refrigerated ships, general cargo ships, chemicals carriers and other types of vessels. We intend to release for use this year ships with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of more than 193,000 tons. For comparison, consider that in 1979 we built altogether 184,200 deadweight tons of shipping,

that is, a smaller tonnage. In 1981 the total tonnage we built was barely 129,000 tons and a year later, 155,400 tons. But we have problems. Delays occur owing to interruptions in deliveries--and there are a thousand supplier plants with which the shipyard cooperates. Difficulties occur in adapting the economic reform to the specific nature of the shipyard's operations. We were harmed by the widely known restrictions. What is more, classifying associations and Western shipowners tightened their requirements. But the principal problem is the lack of manpower, and in such basic occupations as that of hull welders, hull assemblers and pipe installers. We lack primer applicators, painters and ship fitters. Workers are leaving the shipyard. In the last few years its workforce declined to 13,700 from 16,000.

/Some kind of envelope is maintained by outside forces around the shipyard. Those television cameras and crowds of journalists in front of the gate. This artificial mood of something exceptional. Most of our employees simply want to work in peace and live normally./ Of course, there also are some who have been and are trying to disturb this peace. For example, an appeal was made to boycott the elections to the Worker Council and leaflets slandering the nascent trade unions were distributed. Persons joining these unions have not infrequently encountered threats and been exposed to epithets and even chicaneries. It is the old story, once again retold.

I will not conceal that the past 3 years have been exceptional to our shipyard party organization. We experienced a great deal here. Eighty percent of party members here had belonged to Solidarity. It was a period of difficult choices and political struggles.

Before August the party organization at the shipyard had a membership of 3,300. At the moment of introduction of the martial law it had 2,600 members, and at present it has just barely more than 2,000, of whom about 45 percent are blue-collar workers. The moral pressure exerted on party members was so great that many simply did not withstand it psychologically and surrendered their party cards--for various reasons, besides. There were doubters who had remained unconvinced in face of certain situations which took place at the time.

It was really very difficult. It is thus not surprising that so many good people and honest party members left the party. But there also were political chameleons who changed skins [as published] when they sensed the wind blow from another direction. Others still had belonged to the party out of calculation. We do not miss such people. It is good that they have left the party. The party's ranks thus became purged, and this is on the plus side.

In our intra-party activities we try to pay special attention to the work of basic party organizations and make them more active. For they are still far from performing properly in accordance with their statute. The elections to party officers at the shipyards were incredibly democratic, perhaps too much so. Many comrades are completely unprepared to exercise the functions to which they were elected. That is why in the very near future we want to place great emphasis on training the party aktiv and cadre. We want to activate the ideological aspect, which has so far been far from optimal. The first step in this direction was the opening of the Center for Culture and Information. /But

It must also be realized that many rank-and-file party members lack faith in the effectiveness and, above all, the consistency of the party's actions. The brutal process of settling accounts also has left a permanent imprint in their mentality. Party members at our shipyard have become chary, if that is the word. They cannot be prompted to act by slogans or catchwords. It is the specifics and the arguments that count. Perhaps this is all to the good./

This year we admitted 13 candidate members. Most of them are young people from so-called production. When asked why have they decided to join the PZPR precisely in these times, which are far from easiest, they answered: "To prove myself."

Well, we shall see.

[Commentary by Ryszard Szczurowski, deputy chairman of the Trade Union of Employees of the Gdansk Shipyard imienia Lenin]

There was a time when trade unions also used to attend to providing the workforce with fall-winter supplies. Nowadays these matters are handled by social services departments. This does not mean that we ceased to interest ourselves in this problem, but we construe our work in this respect as monitoring the activities of the plant management. /Trade-union elements already are operating in all departments and monitoring by the trade union should cover all departments./

There exists a complex whole of tremendously difficult and complicated matters relating to housing construction. In everything we strive to create a situation and an atmosphere in which every employee would be aware and sense that the trade union is ready to be of help. Time will show whether and to what extent we shall cope with the obligations we assumed. /At any rate, we do not intend to be yesmen. We believe that we have a right to our own opinion./

The Platform of Integration [Commentary by Stanislaw Grabowski, chairman of the PRON Council at the Gdansk Shipyard imienia Lenin]

The Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth at the Gdansk Shipyard constituted itself on 29 October of last year. However, its meetings first commenced in March. On 15 December, at a session on the application of the economic reform, we established a permanent PRON council.

At present the PRON at the shipyard has more than 500 members. At first, few of its members had been blue-collar workers: 20-30 percent. Now they account for 70 percent. In the council itself the workers account for 40 percent of membership.

The structure of the PRON also includes organizations active at the shipyard. The first of these to join the PRON and take part in its formation was the plant party organization, followed by the trade union, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoWiD), the Circle of Workers-Creators of Culture, and the Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians (SIMP), with the last-named sending a representative but not yet formally applying to join the Movement.

The first department PRON element was formed in July of this year at Department K-3, the largest in the shipyard. It has about 60 members.

The first of our initiatives was to support "activating" the suspended workers' self-government. Meetings and talks seemed to prove that this would be possible. Unfortunately, a plenary session of the Workers' Council resolved to discontinue negotiations and talks. The old self-government was disbanded. The new Workers' Council was elected in June of this year. Some of the incumbent members of the council were re-elected.

Another matter which we undertook was applying the reform. We invited the shipyard management and the heads of individual departments and socio-political organizations to a session of the PRON council. This session resulted in drawing up a list of the most essential problems. But I wish to emphasize that we do not want to commit ourselves too much to the specifics of this matter. There are persons who are duty-bound to attend to it by virtue of the posts they occupy, and who get paid for doing it. Our task is to create a platform for discussion and exchange of views, for uncovering matters and problems requiring particular solutions and decisions.

/One of the shipyard's most dramatic problems is that of housing for our employees. We organized a meeting attended by the persons directly concerned as well as by representatives of the authorities of Gdansk, the shipyard and the socio-political organizations operating within the shipyard. I must admit that that meeting inspired more optimism than we feel at present. It turns out that the outlays needed are much higher than had been originally expected. The problem thus remains open, urgent and burning./ Recently the PZPR Plant Committee has held another meeting on this topic.

The working conditions at the shipyard are extremely difficult, especially at the hull departments, at the casting department and at the forging department. Hence we decided also to attend to the problem of in-plant medical treatment. Various postulates were made in this connection, a commission was appointed, and soon a schedule for implementing discrete tasks will be drawn up.

These are the principal problems. But this does not mean that they are the only ones. More and more people are coming to us, more and more often, because they are concerned about the issues we raise. This means that we function--probably on the plus side?--in the awareness of the workforce. Sometimes, of course, we lose rather than win. This happened, e.g., as regards the issue of workers' self-government. To be sure, life itself solved this problem, too, but it is a pity that it could not have been resolved differently.

I believe that, on the basis of acceptance of the PRON's program and practical tests of our activities and intentions, we shall be able to create a platform of integration for a definite majority of our workforce, that the divisions and mutual resentments stemming from the recent past will gradually disappear.

1386

CSO:2600/141

YUGOSLAVIA

MILOVAN DJILAS DISCUSSES CURRENT SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German 17 Nov 83 p 9

[Interview with Milovan Djilas by Wolfgang Ilibal; date and place not given: "Eight Bureaucratic Republics"]

[Text] [Question] 30 years ago this fall you first spoke out in favor of a reform of the Yugoslav CP. You received no support at that time and were removed. Over the past decades, has the party realized at least some part of your proposals or has it remained the Leninist party it was even under self-management socialism?

[Answer] Some of my ideas such as those regarding the democratization of the party have had a certain impact, to be sure. But the formation of a strong, democratic, socialist party has not taken place—which was what I had envisaged. If the "League of Communists of Yugoslavia" (LCY)—which is the official name of the communist party—has ceased to be a Leninist party nonetheless, then the reason for that is that both the internal structure of the party and its inner discipline and ideology is in the midst of a process of disintegration.

[Question] That may apply to the LCY as a whole—but haven't the parties in the individual republics remained Leninist at bottom?

[Answer] That is correct in a certain sense; but it does differ from one republic to the other. But their internal structure is in fact more Leninist than that of the LCY as a whole.

[Question] Prior to the 6th party congress in 1952—at a time, in other words, when you were still part of the leadership—Tito said that there would never be a multi-party system in Yugoslavia but a multi-group system, as he called it. But even this never came to be. Did Tito overestimate the party's capacity for change?

[Answer] Tito was not clear in his own mind about these things. He did feel that a Leninist type of party no longer conformed to the needs of our time. He wanted to bring about a wide-ranging debate among the various currents and groups inside the party—but not in the sense of factions. But after the death of Stalin and in connection with my affair he dropped these ideas entirely and reverted to the Leninist type or Leninist party.

In this connection, one merely needs to look at the party the way it is today: it conforms to his wishes and ideas. We have witnessed the emergence of a type of market economy; the strengthening of the nationalist bureaucracies in the republics and the incorporation of distinctly federalist principles in the constitution and in the party as well. Thus, eight different bureaucratic parties in the republics have emerged instead of one single democratic party. They are confronted by a party headquarters which was weak even during Tito's last years in power. The present situation in Yugoslavia may thus be described in the following manner: if there has been liberalization or democratization anywhere--inside the party or out--it was accidental rather than the result of anything like an organized, conscious process such as the one I conceived of at that time 30 years ago and that I still favor today.

[Question] Is this the reason for the unhappy hand the present party leadership has displayed in dealing with the major political, economic and social problems facing the country ?

[Answer] This lack of success characterizes the present situation in Yugoslavia.

[Question] But if the party, which is the only real political force inside the country, turns out to be helpless, does that not of necessity enhance the influence of those groupings which are well organized--in other words, that of the army and the police ?

[Answer] For the time being, that amounts to no more than a hypothesis. So far, there are no visible indications for a growing influence of the army on political life. Some military leaders, to be sure, have criticized the party of lack of success; but for the moment, nothing more serious in this direction is in evidence. I do not believe--faith always being tied to hope--I do not believe that things will turn out in Yugoslavia as they did in Poland; in other words, that the military will intervene. But if the army--contrary to expectations--does intervene, it would be catastrophic for our country. It would inevitably lead to conflicts which in turn could lead to outside intervention. Just imagine a situation in which the army attains a dominant position--even if it were in the name of preserving the unity of the nation, of upholding Tito's legacy and revitalizing the party. This would encounter resistance by the republics--with the exception perhaps of some sections of the Serbian people. Any assumption of a centralistic role by the army would turn into Serbian unitarianism and Serbian hegemony in the long run. That would be a dangerous and tragic development for Yugoslavia--a situation without hope of a rational solution.

[Question] In your view, then--where do you believe things are headed ?

[Answer] I very much hope that things are headed in a different direction. Since opposition trends in Yugoslavia are weak, I believe that various groups will have to form inside the party itself and its top bodies which work toward a reform of the system. The goal would not be to curtail the privileges of the republics but rather to do away with the monopoly-like bureaucracies in the individual republics which are threatening to assume a life of their own. Fortunately, the population is becoming aware of the need to analyze these problems. This trend must have an impact some time—even all the way to the top of the party pyramid. The present system is in bad need of reform; but the problem is that there are no people up at the top capable of pushing these reforms through.

[Question] But there are hardly any such people in the second or third echelon of functionaries either, are there?

[Answer] Oh yes, there are. There are some such among the party intelligentsia. They cannot yet see a real solution today but they are at least aware of the problems.

[Question] The recent burial of Alexander Rankovic created a tremendous stir throughout Yugoslavia. He was your comrade-in-arms and a dreaded minister of police. His burial turned into a mighty political manifestation. Do you believe this reflects a desire for a tougher course by the party?

[Answer] I did not expect this reaction, nor do I believe that those who presently hold power did either. The mass turnout is a reflection of the real sentiments of the Serbian people. There is widespread dissatisfaction. To be sure, many officials [of the interior ministry and the police] who lost their jobs at the time Rankovic fell from grace or were pensioned then attended the funeral to pay their last respects to their erstwhile chief; also some party members who are unhappy about the state of the party's affairs. For another thing, events in Kosovo also play something of a part in all this. The Serbians are unhappy about the way the government is dealing with the Kosovo problem. For 3 years, they have talked about curtailing Serbian emigration from Kosovo; but it is continuing unabated. There are many Yugoslavs who are simply dissatisfied with the economic situation inside the country and then there are those who deplore the party's and the government's loss of authority.

[Question] Let me ask you a personal question in closing. What literary projects do you have following the recent publication of another volume of your memoirs?

[Answer] That was the last volume of the memoirs. I am not going to write any more. I will turn to literature from now on. I may write some articles here and there, if I am asked. But as for the memoirs, they are finished.

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